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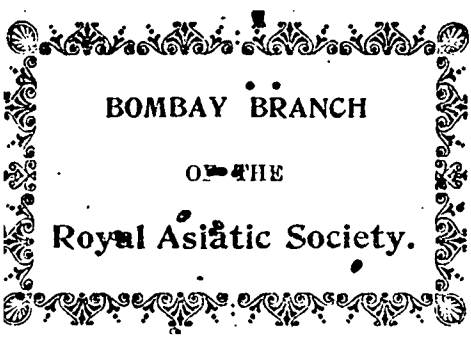

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QUEENSLAND.

AUSTRALIA;

A HIGHLY ELIGIBLE FIELD FOR EMIGRATION,

AND THE

FUTURE COTTON-FIELD OF GREAT BRITAIN:

WITH A DISQUISITION ON

The Origin, Manners, and Customs of the Aborigines.

8E573

BY

JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D. A.M.

Senior Minister of the Scots Church, Sydney, and one of the Representatives of the City of Sydney in the Parliament of New South Wales: Honorary Member of the African Institute of France, of the American Oriental Society, and of the Literary Institute of Olinda in the Brazils.

LONDON:

EDWARD STANFORD, 6 CHARING CROSS.

1861.

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THE PROVINCE OF
QUEENSLAND,
NORTH-EASTERN AUSTRALIA.
SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE greater part of the following work, for which the author had been making researches and collections in Australia a long time previous, was written on board the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steam-ships Jeddo, Nemesis, and Ceylon, on the voyage by the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean, from Sydney to Southampton, in the months of December, January, and February last. Its object was fourfold:—*First*, to point out to the British public the highly eligible field which the new colony of Queensland presents, under the liberal and enlightened arrangements of the Local Government, for the emigration and settlement of thousands and tens of thousands of the industrious classes of Great Britain and Ireland. *Secondly*, to demonstrate the perfect suitableness of the soil and climate for the growth by means of European and British labourers, of cotton, sugar, and other tropical productions that are elsewhere raised almost exclusively by coloured and slave labour, and thereby to create a counterpoise in Australia to negro slavery in America. *Thirdly*, to prevent the threatened influx of hordes of coolies and Chinamen into Queensland—a consummation which would not only effectually destroy the

thoroughly British character of the colony and greatly impede its material progress, but would prove an insurmountable obstacle to its moral welfare and general advancement. And, *finally*, to interest the future colonists of Queensland in the fortunes and fate of the aborigines. How far these objects are of importance, or how far they are likely to be attained by the following work, the reader will judge for himself.

London: 22nd April, 1861.

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INTRODUCTION.

In the year 1787, a Commission was issued by his late Majesty King George III., to Arthur Phillip, Esq., a Post-Captain in the Royal Navy, as Captain-General and Governor of New South Wales, the then recent discovery of Captain Cook, which was forthwith erected into a British colony. The territory over which viceregal authority was thus constituted, was held to extend from the South Cape of Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania, to Cape York, the northern extremity of the Australian land; including all the adjacent islands of the Western Pacific Ocean, and particularly Norfolk Island and New Zealand, and extending westward to the 129th meridian of east longitude. The obvious intention of this arrangement was simply to assert British sovereignty over this vast extent of territory, and to enable the Governor, for the time being, to exercise jurisdiction, to redress grievances, and to punish crime anywhere within these limits. It could never have been intended to give the mere handful of colonists who might settle in any part of it, territorial rights over this vast extent of territory, as certain of the present colonists of New South Wales most preposterously suppose.

A somewhat similar arrangement had been made by King James I., about a hundred and fifty years before, on the colonization of North America; for, with the exception of New York, which was originally a Dutch colony, the whole territory comprised in the thirteen original United States, was divided by King James into two colonies, called respectively North and South Virginia.

These two colonies were subsequently subdivided from time to time; in some instances by Royal Charter, and in others, by Acts of Parliament, into the thirteen colonies that declared their independence in the year 1776. Protests were doubtless made on such occasions, by the original colonists, against these subdivisions, or, as they are styled by the colonists, *dismemberments* of their respective territories; as in the case of Lord Baltimore's colony of Maryland, which was detached by Royal Charter, under Charles I., from the *Old Dominion* of Virginia. But these interested and selfish protests were very properly disregarded by the Imperial authorities, as they ought, most unquestionably, to be in all similar cases, still; for it is one of the most important functions of an Imperial Government, charged, like that of Great Britain, with the founding of a whole series of future states or empires, in a vast *terra incognita*, to divide the country to be colonized into such reasonable portions as will ensure the benefits and blessings of good government to its future inhabitants. It is much to be regretted that this important function of government has hitherto been in great measure lost sight of by our own imperial authorities.*

There is, perhaps, no body of British colonists in any part of our colonial empire, who do not conceive themselves *a priori* perfectly able to govern any territory, however extensive, and to

* No sooner had the United States of America achieved their independence, than they set themselves to correct the previous blundering of the Imperial Government, in the apportionment of territory to the different colonies, while they were under British rule. The territory of Maine, for example, was then disjoined from Massachusetts, and constituted a separate State. Connecticut, which had unlimited claims of territory to the westward, under its original charter, was induced to forego them for a tract of land of one hundred miles in length by forty in breadth (the actual dimensions of Connecticut proper), in the territory then forming into the State of Ohio; and the Connecticut legislature very wisely appropriated the whole of this noble domain for the advancement of education among their own people. Virginia also was induced to cut off a large slice of her original territory to form the new state of Kentucky, and North Carolina to do the same to form that of Tennessee; while it was admitted as a general principle, that forty thousand square miles, less or more according to the geographical features of the country, should thenceforth be the proper extent of any new state.

manage the affairs of any community however remote; the wishes and opinions of those more immediately concerned being in all such cases entirely ignored.*

The first dismemberment of the colony of New South Wales took place in the year 1825, when Van-Diemen's Land, or Tasmania, was erected into a separate and independent colony. Swan River, or Western Australia, which was founded in the year 1827, had never been a part of New South Wales; but in the year 1835, a further dismemberment of that colony was effected by Act of Parliament, when the colony of South Australia was established, within the limits originally assigned to New South Wales. Through mere inadvertence, instead of making the western boundary of the new colony coincident with the eastern boundary of Western Australia, it was fixed at two or three degrees farther east; and there is thus a narrow strip of territory extending from south to north across the whole Australian continent, between the colonies of South Australia and Western Australia, *still belonging to New South Wales under the original commission of* 1787. The government and colonists of South Australia are naturally desirous that this portion of territory should be annexed to their colony; and, as it is at least fifteen hundred miles from Sydney, and of no conceivable value to New South Wales, one might suppose that the Legislature of that colony would at once hand it over to those who could turn it to proper account in the way of colonization. But this would be giving British colonists credit for much more common sense and brotherly kindness than unfortunately they really possess.

* The value attached to the possession of an immense territory in America seems to me a weakness, attributable partly to their vivacious imagination, and partly to their ignorance of political economy * * * Mere bulk is as little a test of strength in countries as in individual men. Nay, I am inclined to think that the extent of territory in the Northern States is a source of positive weakness rather than of strength. There is more soil than can well be cultivated for ages to come. * * * The New England States contain only 65,038 square miles of the worst soil on the continent, and yet how large a portion is theirs of the industrial, financial, political, and intellectual greatness of the people of the United States!—*Letters from the Slave States of America, by James Stirling, Esq.*

The Legislature of New South Wales will not part with a single inch of this territory, without a *quid pro quo*.* Like the dog in the manger, they can make no use of it themselves, and they refuse to give it to those who can; thereby virtually obliging the imperial authorities to give it to South Australia, without their consent, as they ought indeed to have done from the first.

In the year 1839, the late New Zealand Company, having enlisted a large body of intending colonists, were desirous of having that group of islands recognised and proclaimed as a British colony; but as the authorities in Downing Street were averse to the proposal, I suggested in a pamphlet I published on the occasion†, after a short visit which I happened to pay to New Zealand on my way to England from New South Wales, that as that group of islands had been included in the original commission of the Governors of New South Wales, and as the earlier governors of that colony had actually exercised jurisdiction *there* by creating magistrates for New Zealand, the island might be governed in the first instance as an appendage of New South Wales. This suggestion, which had not previously occurred to the gentlemen in Downing Street, was accordingly adopted by the imperial authorities; the original establishment of the colony of New Zealand having been formed in Sydney, and the first laws enacted for its government having been passed in New South Wales. This state of things, however, continued only for a short period; the Acting Governor, Captain Hobson, R.N., who had been sent out originally merely with consular authority, having wisely anticipated the instructions he expected from England, by proclaiming the islands a British colony, just in time to prevent their occupation by the French under Louis Philippe.

* The question came before the Sydney Legislature during the past year, on the proposal of the Government of the day to hand over the tract in question to South Australia; but the Government had scarcely a vote in their favour with the exception of my own. The Duke of Newcastle, however, has introduced a Bill into the House of Lords to give this debateable land to South Australia, while these pages are passing through the press.

† New Zealand in 1839.

Before returning to New South Wales on that occasion, I happened to visit America, and traversed not fewer than eleven of the United States. Like most other Englishmen who had not visited that country, I had previously figured it to myself as a vast Republic, of which all the government machinery was centred in Washington, as that of the United Kingdom is in London; regarding the division into States as something analogous to that of the counties or parishes in England. But when contemplating the American social and political system from a different and much closer point of view, I found that the benefits and blessings of good government in that country were derived not so much from the general government, which, in fact, comes very little into contact with the great body of the American people, but from the governments of the different States, which, being all of moderate extent, the whole machinery of their government is subjected to the constant supervision of the people; while its benefits and blessings are thereby ensured equally to all. And why should it be otherwise, I thought, in our colonies? Why should these infant states and empires not be moderately-sized communities, so as to ensure the benefits and blessings of good government to their entire population, like the separate States in America, and not one vast, unwieldy, ill-governed colony, like New South Wales?*

Entertaining these views and opinions, to which I occasionally gave public expression, as opportunities offered, I had the honour of being elected one of the six representatives of Port Phillip, now the great colony of Victoria, in the semi-representative

* The idea of the late Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, as to the proper extent of that colony, was that it should comprise the whole territory from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Great Southern Ocean, that is about five times the extent of all Great Britain and Ireland. How so extensive a country could be well governed, Sir Thomas did not deem it necessary to show. The actual extent of New South Wales, even excluding the debateable land on the northern frontier, is still as great as the United Kingdom and France together, or about seven times the average size of an American State.

Legislature of New South Wales, in the year 1843; and, in the month of September of the following year, I moved in that body that a humble address be presented to Her Majesty the Queen, praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to order the requisite steps to be taken for separating the district of Port Phillip — an extent of country as large as all Great Britain — from New South Wales, and erecting it into a distinct and independent colony. The whole of the six members for Port Phillip voted for this motion; but of the other thirty for New South Wales Proper — including both nominees and representatives — the only one who recorded his vote in favour of the motion was the Right Honourable Robert Lowe, who was then a nominee member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Despairing of ever accomplishing the object of my motion through our Colonial Legislature, I recommended that the six Port Phillip members should petition Her Majesty for the separation of that district, and its erection into a distinct colony, in their own names; and the Melbourne Separation Committee concurring in the recommendation, a petition which I drew up for the purpose was accordingly signed by the six members and forwarded to her Majesty; and, I am happy to add, the boon was immediately conceded, in a despatch from Lord Stanley received in Sydney in the month of October of the following year; although, from the delays of office and the difficulties thrown in the way in New South Wales, the final separation of Port Phillip, and its erection into a British colony, was not consummated till the first of July, 1851, almost immediately after the discovery of gold in Australia.

I happened to visit the district of Moreton Bay, now the colony of Queensland, for the first time in the month of November, 1845. Struck with the general capabilities of the country, I was strongly impressed at the same time with the idea that the great inlet of Moreton Bay was as well fitted to become the head-quarters of a separate and independent colony as either Port Phillip or Port Jackson; and I was strongly of opinion that the welfare and ad-

vancement of that important portion of our Australian territory could never otherwise be effectually promoted or secured. Well knowing, however, that such an idea — which was regarded at the time even at Moreton Bay as utterly hopeless and chimerical — would be still more distasteful to our Sydney Legislature than the separation of Port Phillip, I embraced the opportunity of my being in England during the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, to address a series of letters on the subject to the Right Honourable Earl Grey, who was then Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies; recommending, for various reasons which I stated at length, that in the future Act of Parliament, which was then announced as under consideration for the better government of the Australian colonies, there should be inserted a clause enabling Her Majesty to separate from New South Wales, and to erect into a distinct and independent colony the territory situated to the northward of the thirtieth parallel of latitude, which I showed was the only proper point of separation between the two conterminous colonies. And when the Act was finally passed in the year 1850, I found, to my great gratification, although to the surprise and mortification of most of our Sydney legislators, that it *did* contain a clause to the effect I had recommended. That clause, I am happy to add, providing as it did for the separation of Moreton Bay, has proved the *Magna Charta* of Queensland.

It is a saying of the great Martin Luther, that wherever God plants a church the devil is sure to have a public-house erected right opposite. In accordance with this principle, no sooner was the boon of separation obtained *in prospectu* for the future colony of Queensland, than a great effort was made by the principal squatters — gentlemen who consider themselves the veritable aristocracy of the country — to get that colony established as a penal settlement or convict colony, in order to enable them to procure cheap labour for their flocks and herds. I had succeeded, however, in the face of much unexpected discouragement during the three years I spent in England, in directing a stream

of emigration, consisting of three shiploads of emigrants — about six hundred persons in all — to Moreton Bay, now Queensland. These emigrants, whom I had collected and selected myself, were all persons of reputable character and industrious habits, and almost all members of evangelical churches in the mother-country; and settling, as they did, in and around the only two towns then in the country, Brisbane and Ipswich, they set themselves vigorously from the first to oppose this movement of the squatters, and to prevent, if possible, the degradation of their adopted country into a mere convict colony. And I am happy to be enabled to add that, through the incessant agitation they kept up on the subject, by public meetings, addresses, and petitions, &c., they succeeded at length in defeating the foul conspiracy.

It was stated, before a Select Committee of the House of Lords on Transportation, in the year 1856, by Arthur Hodgson, Esq., late member for Newcastle in the Parliament of New South Wales, and one of the two gentlemen who had taken the lead in endeavouring to get the new colony transformed into a penal settlement, that it was owing entirely to the emigrants I had sent out to Moreton Bay that the proposal of the colonial aristocracy of the time, which was well received and would have been strongly supported by influential parties in the mother-country, proved unsuccessful.

Opposition, however, to the best interests of the future colony, although of a somewhat different character, speedily arose from a different quarter. Finding that they could not prevent the separation of the Moreton Bay district, certain of the leading colonists of New South Wales, backed by majorities in both Houses of the Colonial Parliament, endeavoured to curtail the dimensions of the new colony to the southward, by getting the boundary, which the Act of the Imperial Parliament had fixed at the thirtieth parallel of latitude, moved to the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth parallels, so as to retain the Clarence and Richmond Rivers district, which is situated immediately to the northward of the thirtieth parallel, in the colony of New South Wales. The means that were used

to effect this object were sufficiently discreditable. In the first place, Mr. Hargrave, a member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales for the electoral district of New England, got up and presented to the Assembly a petition, which a few of the residents in the Clarence and Richmond Rivers district had been unwittingly induced to sign, against the annexation of that district to the new colony. This petition purported to have been signed by upwards of fifteen hundred persons, and there was a great flourish of trumpets on the occasion in both Houses of the Colonial Parliament at the prevention of the dismemberment of the colony which had thus been so happily effected; but by far the greater number of the signatures attached to that petition were notoriously those of persons who had no right whatever to sign it, as they were residing to the southward of the thirtieth parallel, and not within the parliamentary limits at all. Undue influence was used at the same time by the Government of the day to induce persons residing in the Clarence district to sign Mr. Hargrave's petition, and thereby to protest against the separation of their district from New South Wales. Mr. E. Deas Thomson, also, for many years Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, who, in a letter addressed to the late Right Honourable Sir William Molesworth, Bart., of date London, 27th September, 1855, had expressed himself strongly in favour of the thirtieth parallel as the only proper boundary between the two colonies, was induced, by the strong colonial pressure from without, to eat up his own words on his return to the colony, and to vote, as a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, for a different boundary from the one he had himself recommended in England. Alluding, in his letter to Sir William Molesworth, to the efforts of certain parties to have the boundary line struck still farther south than the thirtieth parallel, Mr. Thomson says:—"I should greatly prefer the thirtieth parallel of south latitude as the frontier line between the two colonies; first, because it was the most southern boundary line contemplated by the Act of Par-

liament, 13 and 14 Victoria, cap. lix.; and, secondly, because any encroachment upon that line would be received with great jealousy and discontent by the colonists of New South Wales. I believe also that it would form an appropriate geographical boundary, having reference to the natural outlet of produce and the reception of supplies, whilst for this reason, its adoption would probably secure to each colony the collection of its appropriate revenue." This was, doubtless, an honest opinion on the part of Mr. Thomson. It is pitiful, however, to think that he should afterwards have turned his back upon himself, by voting against the thirtieth parallel when he had got out again to New South Wales.

Sir William Denison, also, the late Governor-General of New South Wales, who, having two brothers holding nearly a quarter of a million of acres of land, as squatters on the northern frontier of that colony, at a merely nominal rental of a twentieth of a penny per acre, could scarcely be supposed to be a disinterested referee in such a case, fixed the boundary for the present, when the question was very improperly, I conceive, referred to him for his decision by Mr. Labouchere, late Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the twenty-eighth parallel on the coast and the twenty-ninth in the interior — with what propriety or justice a recently adopted and numerously signed petition to Her Majesty from the resident householders of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers district, of which the reader will find a copy in Appendix A., will sufficiently show. As I cannot allow myself to suppose that the prayer of such a petition can possibly be refused by Her Majesty's Government, and as the annexation of the Clarence district to the new colony is therefore merely a question of time, I shall consider that district, throughout the following work, as part and parcel of the noble colony of Queensland.

In short, every effort was made in New South Wales, first, to prevent separation, which, it was kindly alleged by its opponents, would be ruinous to the new colony, and afterwards to get the parliamentary boundary changed, so as to leave an extensive and important district of the proposed colony of Queensland in New

South Wales; the interests, convenience, and wishes of the inhabitants of that district being entirely disregarded.* The whole

* As all this opposition to the separation of Queensland at the boundary fixed by the Act of Parliament of 1850, has arisen from that absurd mania for territory that prevails among almost all our colonial legislators,—as if New South Wales would be too small a colony if it were only 300,000 miles in extent, that is, much more than twice the size of the whole United Kingdom, I am happy to subjoin the following very judicious remarks on the subject from the "Maitland Mercury," a very able and influential colonial journal:—

"We are well pleased that the vexed question of the separation of Moreton Bay from New South Wales has been finally settled, in the only way it ought to be settled, by granting the prayers of the inhabitants of Moreton Bay. When the fact of the two colonies being really separated has become familiar to us, say in a year or two hence, we shall all of us be ready to wonder what there really was in the proposed separation that should make an inhabitant of New South Wales get up an opposition to it. That consequence followed on the separation of Port Phillip and the creation of the colony of Victoria; it will follow now on the separation of Moreton Bay, and the creation of the colony of Queensland; and it will follow just as surely in the case of any other portions of the country that may detach themselves from New South Wales from time to time.

"Whether a colony extends one hundred or one thousand miles in length is really a matter of no consequence, provided it be throughout well and equitably governed. But no colony ever is well governed throughout that has an unreasonable extent of country intervening between its metropolis and its outer limits. The metropolis inevitably sucks the very life blood out of the remote portions. The outlying parts may be unable to get ordinary roads constructed, or bridges erected, or harbours looked after; but the metropolis is certain to be improved, and beautified, and enriched, at the expense of the country. Wherever, therefore, the mere distance to be travelled, or the nature of the intervening country, or any other insuperable cause, renders the influence of the outlying inhabitants of little practical weight in the counsels of the colonial government, first or last a series of gross injustices are sure to occur, and sure to cause a demand for governmental separation. It would neither surprise nor grieve us if, supposing we live many years more, we should successively witness this process repeated until the present New South Wales is cut up into several distinct colonies.

"Local self-government, although it often exhibits ludicrous errors of management, and creates still oftener absurd itchings for personal distinction, invariably works out the real advancement of a tract of country. That has been its result all over the world: in islands, small and large, and equally on continents; and there is no reason why it should not take place in Australia also. And whatever tends to advance Moreton Bay, for instance, in social and material progress, will react on remaining New South Wales, and help it forward also. And so also, if the far interior, the Darling and Murray country, became a distinct colony, and consequently advanced more rapidly in prosperity, the remaining parts of New South Wales would be stimulated into greater progress also. Commercially and socially we should still remain one Australian people, and should find we had indeed lost a glittering bauble in nominal extent of territory, and nominal population, but had been far more than compensated by increased wealth, increased trade, increased social blessings—individually.

"Our argument is true mainly of colonies forming parts of one vast

period, indeed, from the passing of the Imperial Act of 1850, till the separation of Queensland was finally consummated on the 10th December, 1859, by the arrival of his Excellency Sir George Ferguson Bowen as Governor, and the proclamation of the colony of Queensland amid the rejoicings of the inhabitants, was one protracted struggle, in all the various forms of agitation, for the accomplishment of an object which that Act was supposed to have secured; and in this struggle I had the honour to bear no inconsiderable part. This, indeed, has been fully acknowledged, in a very gratifying manner, as the following letter from his Excellency Sir George Bowen, transmitting a copy of the unanimous vote of the first Parliament of Queensland, will show: —

"Government House, Brisbane, Queensland,
17th September, 1860.

"Sir,—At the request of the Legislative Assembly of Queensland, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the resolutions unanimously adopted by the House on the 14th inst., thanking you for your 'able and successful efforts to effect the separation of Moreton Bay from New South Wales, and to found the colony of Queensland.'

"I beg further to assure you, on behalf of myself and of my Government, of our full and cordial concurrence in the sentiments of the Assembly, as recorded in the enclosed resolutions.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) "G. F. Bowen."

"The Rev. J. D. Lang, D.D."

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empire. But many Irishmen would say that it is true also of kingdoms and countries, and that a small but independent country yields greater happiness, greater wealth, greater opportunities, to its individual inhabitants, than can be obtained by the merging of that country's independence in the doubtful glory of becoming an integral portion of an empire. And we are by no means sure that, if the question were carefully examined in all its aspects, the opportunities of the individual Belgian, for example, would not be found greater than those of the individual Frenchman, Englishman, Austrian, or Russian."

QUEENSLAND.

EXTRACT FROM THE VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (No. 58).

(*Friday, 14th September*, 1860.)

" Mr. Lilley moved, without previous notice: —

" 1. That the thanks of this House be given to the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, D.D., for his able and successful efforts for the separation of Moreton Bay from New South Wales, and to found the colony of Queensland.

" 2. That this resolution be transmitted to his Excellency the Governor, with a request that he will be pleased to forward a copy of the same to Dr. Lang.

" Question put and passed.

" True extract.

" LEWIS A. BERNAYS,
" Clerk of the Legislative Assembly."

" Legislative Assembly Chambers,
Brisbane, 14th September, 1860."

MAP OF
AUSTRALIA
Shewing the
NEW PROVINCE OF
QUEENSLAND
London
EDWARD STANFORD
1861
WESTERN
AUSTRALIA
SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
TASMANIA

QUEENSLAND.

CHAPTER I.

EXTENT AND GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES.

THE colony of Queensland extends, or at least will eventually extend, from the thirtieth parallel of south latitude to Cape York, at the north-eastern extremity of the Australian land, in latitude 11° S. nearly. It is bounded on the east by the Pacific Ocean, and on the north by the waters of the Indian Archipelago; its boundary to the westward being either the 141st degree of east longitude, the eastern boundary of South Australia, or the 129th meridian, the extreme limit westward indicated in the Commission of 1787. The question as to which of these boundaries is to be considered the western limit of the colony of Queensland, has recently been referred to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies; but although I am strongly of opinion that the 129th meridian is the right one, I consider the question as one of no practical importance, for whenever a settlement of any note shall be formed either at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, or on any other part of the northern coast, a new colony will require to be formed in that direction, as it would be quite preposterous to suppose that any considerable community of Britons in such a locality would submit to be governed from so great a distance as Moreton Bay. But whether the Imperial Government interfere in the matter authoritatively to settle these boundary questions or not, the colony of Queensland can only be supposed to hold the extensive territory within the limits I have mentioned, as New South Wales held the much more extensive territory included in the Commis-

sion of Governor Phillip, that is, temporarily, in anticipation of future British colonisation.

In regard to the future and permanent extent of the colony of Queensland, the late Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, has indicated a remarkable natural division of the Australian land at the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude. The country to the northward of that parallel he proposes to call Capricornia, a name which would certainly be much more appropriate than most of our colonial names, as it would indicate at once the exact situation of the country it designated. Sir Thomas's words, which are rather noteworthy, are as follows:—"Capricornia,—to express the country under the tropics, from the parallel of 25° south, *where nature has set up her own land-marks, not to be disputed.*"* In the event, therefore, of the annexation of the Clarence district, from the thirtieth parallel of latitude, to Queensland, this great natural division would form an appropriate terminus to the new colony to the northward; which would thus have a coast-line of about 350 English miles, and a superficial area of upwards of 200,000 square miles; while the capital, at Brisbane, would be equidistant from its northern and southern extremities. And surely such an extent of territory —five times the average extent of an American State—would be quite sufficient for a British colony, and would afford a far better guarantee for good government to its inhabitants, than if it were double the size.† I shall have occasion to show in the sequel that strong reasons for such an arrangement will be urged very shortly by parties deeply interested in the subject to the northward.

The coast of New South Wales, for several degrees of latitude to the northward of Sydney, is for the most part comparatively tame and uninteresting; there being no striking features in the scenery of the distant interior, visible from the deck of a vessel bound to the northward, to relieve the general barrenness of the coast. But on approaching the thirtieth parallel of latitude, the character of the scenery undergoes a remarkable change.

* "Expedition into Tropical Australia." By Sir Thomas Mitchell, p. 430.

† The coast-line of the whole original thirteen British colonies of America extended only from 31° to 45° N., that is fourteen degrees of latitude, or about seventy-five English miles for each colony.

Lofty, detached, dome-shaped and high-peaked mountains shoot up their bold and interesting forms in rapid succession into the azure sky, while the high table-land of New England, to the westward of the coast range, presents a series of mountain summits, some of which attain an elevation of 6000 feet above the sea level, and are occasionally covered with snow. The coast range, or Australian Andes, which form, as it were, the backbone of the Australian continent, and divide the waters falling into the Pacific from those flowing towards the western interior, are generally from 3000 to 4000 feet in height, and about sixty miles inland. But there are numerous detached mountains of various heights, of the form and character I have indicated, between the coast range and the ocean; while immediately to the northward of Moreton Bay, the country assumes a volcanic character,—a series of cones of that formation, designated by Captain Cook, the Glasshouses, forming a prominent and useful landmark to the mariner.

Any intelligent person has only to direct his eye along the remarkable outline of this mountainous region, to be strongly impressed with the idea that these mountains are separated from each other by fertile plains and valleys, and that they nourish many perennial streams. Nor is this anticipation unwarranted; for there is perhaps no part of the Australian territory so well supplied with streams of water and navigable rivers as the coast region of Queensland. A bare enumeration of these rivers, of some of which a more particular account will be given in the sequel, will satisfy the reader that this is no exaggeration.

The *first*, therefore, of the rivers we meet with in Queensland, in travelling northward from New South Wales, and the largest yet discovered on the east coast of Australia, in the temperate zone, is the Clarence River, which empties itself into the Pacific Ocean at Shoal Bay, in latitude 29½° S. This river is navigable for steamboats and other vessels of 250 tons for upwards of fifty miles from its mouth, and it has various arms or branches that are navigable for smaller vessels.

The *second* of the rivers of Queensland is the Richmond, of which the embouchure is in latitude 28° 55′ S., only forty-four miles to the northward of the Clarence. This river, although it is only a hundred miles in a direct line from its mouth to its

source, has upwards of three hundred miles of navigable water in the lower part of its course, on the main river and its various branches or arms, while its capabilities in other respects are of the highest order.

The *third* of these rivers is the Tweed, which rises in Mount Warning, and falls into the Pacific at Point Danger, in latitude 28° 8′ S., forty-seven miles to the northward of the Richmond. It is navigable for small vessels for twenty or thirty miles from its mouth, being resorted to chiefly by coasting vessels from Sydney engaged in the colonial cedar trade.

Passing over the Kumera-Kumera, or Arrowsmith, which falls into Moreton Bay in latitude 27° 55′ S., and which is navigable for boats fourteen miles from its entrance*, the Logan, which rises in Mount Lindsay, and is formed from the junction of two smaller streams, the Teviot and the Albert, and has a large extent of the finest land for agricultural purposes on its banks, falls into Moreton Bay, about ten miles to the northward of the Kumera-Kumera, or in latitude 27° 45′ S.

The Brisbane River, which also falls into Moreton Bay in latitude 27½° S. is navigated by large steamboats for sixty-five miles from its mouth, or to the head of the navigation of the Bremer River, one of its tributaries, which lies more directly in the principal line of communication with the interior than the main stream; the latter is also navigable for a considerable distance higher up.

The Pine River, which is navigable for about twenty miles from its mouth, falls into Moreton Bay in latitude 27° 10′ S., and the Cabulture River also empties itself into the bay at its northern extremity.

Passing over the Marootchy-doro, or Black Swan River, to the northward of Moreton Bay, in latitude 26° 45′ S., the Mary, or Wide Bay River, in latitude 25° 55′ S., is navigable for at least fifty miles from its mouth.

The Boyne River, which falls into Port Curtis, in latitude 23° 59′ S., is also a considerable stream, and is navigable for some

* There are other two minor streams, outside the bay, near what is called the South Passage, called the Barrow and the Perry, of the same character as the Kumera-Kumera, being both practicable for boats, and abounding with cedar.

distance in the lower part of its course. I shall reserve for a future chapter the observations I have to make on the Fitzroy River, which falls into the Pacific at Keppel Bay, just within the tropic of Capricorn, and on one or two others within the present colony still farther to the northward.

It must be evident, from this list of the rivers of the coast region of Queensland, — supposing that colony to extend from the twenty-fifth to the thirtieth parallel of south latitude, — that that portion of the territory of the new colony is supplied, to an extraordinary extent, not only with streams of water, but with rivers available for navigation. The map appended to this volume will show that the whole extent of country between the coast range and the ocean, is covered with a complete network of streams of water; many of which, rising as they do at an elevation of several thousand feet above the level of the sea, on the forest-clad heights of Mount Warning, Mount Lindsay, and the other lofty eminences of this region, emerge from the dark mountain glens of their birth, clear as crystal and delightfully cool, even in the hottest season of a semi-tropical year. In short, notwithstanding the generally received calumny to which the great "South Land" has hitherto been subjected in Europe, as being destitute of "springs of water," and to a vast extent hopelessly barren and unavailable for the purposes of man, it would perhaps be difficult to point to any tract of country of equal extent, and within the same parallels of latitude in either hemisphere, in which there is a greater number either of streams of water, or of rivers available for navigation.

But the principal geographical feature of the coast-line of Queensland is Moreton Bay, from which this entire portion of the Australian territory, till very recently, derived its name. Moreton Bay was discovered by Captain Cook in the month of May 1770, but could only be examined in a very cursory manner by that celebrated navigator. In the year 1799, however, Captain Hunter, the second Governor of New South Wales, being a captain in the navy, and an enthusiast in the prosecution of maritime discovery, dispatched Lieutenant, afterwards Captain Flinders, another distinguished navigator, second only to Captain Cook, in a small colonial vessel, to examine this bay more minutely, as also another opening considerably to the northward,

which Captain Cook had also indicated on the chart, and named Harvey's Bay, leaving it uncertain whether either afforded any navigable inlet into the interior. The result of this voyage must have greatly disappointed the sanguine, but not unreasonable, hopes of that enterprising mariner and worthy man, Governor Hunter; but it affords one of the most instructive lessons for the guidance of future governments, whether imperial or colonial, in the department of geographical discovery, that perhaps the whole annals of British maritime enterprise afford. In running to the northward, Captain Flinders discovered, and lay at anchor for nearly twenty-four hours in Shoal Bay, into which the Clarence River disembogues, and which he examined in a cursory manner, but without discovering that important river, although he was quite close to its entrance. In times of flood, the rivers of Australia bring down vast quantities of earthy matter which they deposit along the bottom of any bay or other expanse of salt water at their mouth; and these bays or lakes, if at all sheltered from the full sweep of the ocean waves, are gradually filled up, and become at length solid land, leaving a deep-water channel for the flow of the river. Had Captain Flinders happened to hit upon the channel in this particular instance, he would doubtless have followed it up through all its windings, till he had found the mouth of the river; but he merely found a shoal bay, with a fringe of gloomy mangrove trees along its shores, and reported, accordingly, that "all was barren!" In like manner, in pursuance of Governor Hunter's instructions, Captain Flinders entered Moreton Bay by what is called the Northern Passage, and passing several of the low islands with which it is studded, got right abreast of the entrance of the Brisbane River; which, however, being concealed from his view from the vessel's deck by two low flat islands at its mouth, which he named the Fishermen's Islands, he deemed the bay unworthy of any further examination, and reported to the Governor on his return, that it afforded no inlet into the land. Nay, so confident on this point was Captain Flinders, that he summed up his report to Governor Hunter in the following words:—"I must acknowledge myself to have been disappointed in not being able to penetrate into the interior of New South Wales by either of the openings examined in this expedition; but however mortifying the conviction might be, it was

then *an ascertained fact*, that no river of importance intersects the east coast between the 24th and 39th degrees of south latitude." * This too confident assertion of so high an authority in all matters relating to maritime discovery was but indifferent encouragement for exploratory expeditions along the coast to the northward; and accordingly the Brisbane and the Boyne Rivers—the latter of which empties itself within a mile of the northern limit of the line of coast indicated by Captain Flinders—were only discovered accidentally by the late Mr. Oxley, when searching for something else still farther north, in the year 1823; while the Clarence River was not discovered till the year 1838, when some sawyers happened to light upon it unexpectedly, when searching for cedar for the Sydney market, along the rivers to the northward.

In explanation, however, of what might otherwise be regarded as a strange instance (or rather three such instances) of inadvertency on the part of Captain Flinders, it must be observed, that it is quite impossible to discover the outlets of many of the Australian rivers, or even the entrances of some of the best harbours of the country, from the deck of a vessel off the coast. A minute examination must be made—of course in a whale-boat—of every nook and corner along the coast, before the navigator can venture upon so sweeping an assertion as that of Captain Flinders in the instance in question.

Moreton Bay is not formed, as its name might suggest, by a mere sinuosity or indentation of the land, but by three islands running nearly parallel to the coast, and so disposed as to form, with the main, a large salt-water lake or inland sea. Of the three islands, the southernmost or Stradbroke Island is thirty miles in length, and about five in breadth. It lies due north and south, and its southern extremity consists of a mere sand spit, which runs out for about twelve miles parallel to the mainland, and affords an entrance for boats, called the South Passage. To the northward of Stradbroke Island, and separated from it by a navigable channel of nearly a mile in width, is Moreton Island, running due north for about twenty miles with an average breadth of three miles. The third island is Bribie's Island, the *Yarun* of the natives, and is about seventeen miles in length, and

* Flinders's "Voyages to the Terra Australis."—*Introduction* p. 202.

two or three in breadth; and as the south end of Bribie's Island — which lies close in-shore, leaving a narrow channel between it and the land, called the Pumice-Stone River, or Bribie's Island Passage — lies between the north end of Moreton Island and the main, there is a wide entrance into the bay, called the North Entrance, between the two islands; being about eight miles across, with four miles of a deep-water channel, in which the soundings are from five to six fathoms. Formerly the southern entrance, between Stradbroke and Moreton Islands, was the one uniformly taken by steamboats and coasting vessels; but as the sea breaks fearfully on the bar, which has only a depth of water of three and a half fathoms, in bad weather, the North Entrance, which is practicable for vessels of the greatest draught of water at all times, has been the only one in use for twelve or thirteen years past. The unfortunate wreck of the Sovereign steamer (with upwards of forty persons on board, most of whom perished), when endeavouring to get out to sea by the southern entrance, after a gale of wind from the south-east, in the year 1847, led to the immediate and entire disuse of that entrance for all sorts of vessels.

Moreton Bay is sixty miles long and about twenty wide. It is studded with islands, especially towards its southern extremity, where it gradually narrows to a mere river in appearance. A few of these islands are high land, and capable of great improvement, as Peel's Island and St. Helena Island; the latter of which received its name in the penal times of the settlement, from the circumstance of a black fellow, who had been named Napoleon by the convicts, having been placed upon it by way of punishment for some crime or misdemeanour: the others are low, muddy, covered with mangroves, and merely in process of formation from the gradual deposits of the Brisbane, the Logan, and the other rivers that empty themselves into the bay. The three islands that form the Bay to seaward, are all hopelessly sterile — at least in regard to productions at all useful for man; for they are all covered with indigenous vegetation, suited, doubtless, to the soil, or rather sand and climate. The roots of the cyprus pine from Moreton Island are in high estimation at Brisbane for ornamental furniture and fancy cabinet-work — for which, from their rich and beautiful appearance, they are well

adapted, and would doubtless bring a high price in London or Paris.

To the northward of Moreton Bay, there is a long island called Frazer's Island, parallel to the coast-line, about sixty-five miles in length, with an average breadth of ten miles; the northern half of which, being abreast of a bight in the mainland, gave the latter the appearance of a deep bay, and induced Captain Cook to designate it accordingly, Hervey's Bay, anticipating, doubtless, that a river would be discovered at its head. In this anticipation, we have seen, Governor Hunter concurred; but when it was ascertained that the land forming the east side of the bay was merely an island, the idea of finding a river on that part of the coast was at once abandoned. The southern half of Frazer's Island forms a long narrow sound available for coasting navigation; and Wide Bay, into which the river Mary empties itself, is situated at its southern extremity, in latitude 25° 55′ S. Frazer's Island received its name from Captain Frazer, of the ship Stirling Castle, a Scotch vessel, which has obtained some celebrity in New South Wales, from having brought out to that colony, at my particular instance, a number of Scotch mechanics (the first free immigrants of this class who had ever arrived in that colony), to erect the requisite buildings for an academical institution in Sydney, in the year 1831. On a subsequent voyage to the colony, Captain Frazer was unfortunately wrecked on the Barrier Reef, on his way to India. He reached the coast, however, in his boat; but it was only to experience a more awful fate, for he was seized by the black natives on his landing, and inhumanly murdered with most of his crew. Frazer's Island is rather of indifferent character, in point of soil and general capabilities, in the estimation of Europeans; but it is an excellent fishing station, and abounds in the other requisites of aboriginal life. It is consequently very populous—the number of aborigines on the island being estimated at not fewer than 2000.

The next inlet to the northward of Frazer's Island, that requires to be noticed, is Port Curtis, situated in latitude 24° S. or thereby. It was discovered and partially surveyed by Captain Flinders in the course of his voyages of discovery along the coasts of Australia, early in the present century, and the following is the account given of it by that eminent navigator:—"This part

of the east coast had been passed in the night by Captain Cook, so that both the openings escaped his notice, and the discovery of the port fell to our lot. In honour of Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, who had commanded at the Cape of Good Hope, and been so attentive to our wants, I gave to it the name of PORT CURTIS, and the island which protects it from the sea, in fact forms the port, was called *Facing Island*. It is a slip of rather low land, eight miles in length, and from two to half a mile in breadth, having Gatcombe Head for its southern extremity.

"The northern entrance to Port Curtis is accessible only to boats; but ships of any size may enter the port by the southern opening."*

This locality was afterwards visited by Mr. Oxley, in search of a suitable place for the establishment of a new penal settlement in the year 1823; and on that occasion Mr. Oxley discovered an important river, of which discovery the following account is taken from the observations of Mr. Uniacke, a gentleman of great promise, who had accompanied Mr. Oxley on his expedition to the northward, but who died shortly after his return, in Sydney. During the examination of Port Curtis, Mr. Uniacke observes: "On our arrival on board, the master reported that he had discovered a fine fresh-water river emptying itself by an outlet which was visible astern of the vessel to the southward. From his account Mr. Oxley was induced to defer our departure to Port Bowen for another day, in order to have an opportunity of viewing it himself. Accordingly Mr. Stirling and he started early the next day, while I remained behind to collect specimens of minerals on Facing Island for the Governor. Late in the evening they returned, having proceeded up the river to about where the tide reached, and Mr. Oxley deemed it of sufficient consequence to remain three or four days more, in order to examine the country more minutely. Accordingly the next morning early we again left the vessel, taking three days' provisions, and proceeded with our boat about twelve miles up the river, where we pitched our tent on a bank about forty feet above the level of the water. The soil here was of the richest

* "A Voyage to Terra Australis, &c.," by Matthew Flinders, Captain R.N., ii. 19, 20.

description, and calculated to grow cotton, sugar, indigo, and all other Indian productions. There were, however, marks of the flood having reached at least fifteen feet higher than the level of our encampment, owing to which the whole surface was covered about two inches deep with drift sand. Indeed, the floods here in the rainy seasons must be tremendous, as we observed in many of the trees, at least sixty feet above the level of the water, the wrack which had been deposited by successive inundations. On the banks we saw three or four different kinds of timber, but the small quantity rendered them unimportant. The river was covered with multitudes of teals, widgeons and wild ducks, and on the banks I shot two swamp pheasants (a pretty black bird not unlike the English pheasant in shape), a very beautiful species of small deer not known in Sydney, and a kind of owl that none of us had seen before. Shortly after dinner we proposed to go to rest, with an intention of proceeding farther up the river at a very early hour the next morning.

"We turned out the moment it was light, dispatched our breakfast, and, getting into the boat, proceeded about six miles further up the river. The country through which we passed this day was similar to what we had seen the day before. The timber, however, was becoming larger and more plentiful. In many places the right bank of the river was composed of a remarkably fine slate, while the left was a hard close-grained grey granite, and the soil everywhere rich and fertile. Before we returned we ascended a high hill, on the left from which we had a beautiful and extensive view of the river for many miles, through a rich brush country, the banks in many parts well clothed with timber.

"To the river which we discovered here Mr. Oxley gave the name of the Boyne. It empties itself into Rodd's Bay, Port Curtis, and its mouth is in lat. 23° 59¾′ S., long. 151° 34′ 45″ E."*

The country to the westward of the coast range consists of a series of plains, or downs, about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, the greater part of which is still occupied as squatting runs for sheep and cattle; the soil for many miles

* "Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales, by various hands." London, 1825.

along these plains being a rich black mould of great depth and of great fertility. The character of the country farther west will appear in the sequel from a series of extracts which I shall insert in the proper place, from the account of the last expedition of the late Sir Thomas Mitchell into the interior of Australia.

CHAP. II.

THE CLARENCE AND RICHMOND RIVERS.

I HAVE already stated, that in the year 1799, Lieutenant Flinders was dispatched from Sydney, in a small colonial vessel, by Governor Hunter, to examine two inlets to the northward, indicated by Captain Cook, but not explored. The following is an account of that part of his voyage which records his discovery and partial examination of Shoal Bay, already referred to, extracted from Captain Collins's "Account of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island," vol. ii. p. 230 :—

"At half-past three" (August 11th, 1799), "a peaked hill, standing four or five miles inland, and more conspicuous than usual, bore true west. Before five, the vessel stood in for what appeared to be an opening, and about dusk was in the entrance to a wide shoal bay; soon after which she anchored in two and a half fathoms on a hard sandy bottom.

"The objects in view that induced Mr. Flinders to enter this bay, were that he might have daylight to run along the remaining part of the coast, which had been passed by Captain Cook in the night, and to ascertain a place of safety to run for, should the wind come dead on the coast on his return.

"On examining this bay in his boat, he found it to be very shallow. The north point of the entrance into it was only a projecting spit of sandy ground. Having returned to the sloop about noon, he landed on the south head for the purpose of observing for the latitude, which, by a meridional altitude of the sun, he found 29° 26′ 28″, for the entrance into the bay.

"*This bay not appearing to deserve more than a superficial examination, Mr. Flinders did not think it worth consuming much of his time, and therefore got under weigh at one o'clock in the afternoon of the* 12*th.*

"He could not give any particular mark that would point out the situation of Shoal Bay, except its latitude, and the somewhat remarkably peaked hill, lying about four leagues to the southward of it. *Were any vessel ever likely to visit it*, it would be necessary to observe that either of two heads, which bore from the vessel S.W. by W., and W. by N., behind which there was some appearance of an inlet, might be mistaken for the South Head of the bay."

It was not likely that any vessel from New South Wales would think of visiting Shoal Bay from choice, after this virtual sentence of condemnation pronounced upon it; and, accordingly, the noble river that empties itself into it remained unknown till it was accidentally discovered by some cedar-cutters from Sydney in the year 1838. Shortly thereafter, an expedition was planned by a few private individuals in Sydney, to explore the newly-discovered river, and to ascertain its capabilities; and the settlement then formed on its banks has been progressive,—as much so at least as a distant government that cared very little about it, would allow it to be—to the present time. This remark, however, must be understood to apply to a state of things that is now past; for ever since the movement for the separation of the Clarence District from New South Wales, and its annexation to Queensland commenced, there has been considerable interest taken in the welfare of that district in the older colony.

I visited this very interesting tract of country for the first time in the year 1856; on which occasion I crossed the intervening country on horseback to Moreton Bay. I made a second excursion to the Clarence River during the past year; and, as a personal narrative is usually more interesting than a mere general description, I shall take the liberty to insert a series of extracts from my Rough Notes on the former of these occasions—interspersing a few additional remarks, the result of my second visit, to indicate the progress which the country had made in the interval.

August 20th, 1856.—Embarked at Sydney, on board the Grafton steamer, for the Clarence River, at 8 P.M., and reached Newcastle, where we had to take in coals, as well for the return voyage as for the voyage down, before daylight on the following day.

21*st*.—Sailed from Newcastle, with a full supply of coals, about

10 A.M. The Grafton, which was built at Birkenhead in England, under the supervision of Captain Wiseman, is a remarkably substantial and very commodious vessel, in every way well adapted for the trade; and Captain Wiseman, who has been long on this coast, deservedly bears the character of an able and experienced navigator. His deportment is all that could be wished in the situation he occupies, and I have been gratified to learn that his crew are quite like a private family, of which the worthy captain is of course the head.

22*nd.*—Arrived off the entrance of the Clarence, after a remarkably pleasant passage, in the afternoon, anticipating having to spend the night at anchor in a small bay outside the Heads; but the pilot having come off to us, and told us that we were quite in time to get over the bar, we got in accordingly, and steamed up the river to Grafton, which we reached at 9 P.M., the shades of evening having closed in upon us long before we had arrived at our destination.

The entrance of the Clarence is in 29½ degrees south. It is a bar-mouthed river; but the bar is so rarely impracticable that the Grafton, which has now been running fifteen months, making a trip to and fro once a fortnight—has only been prevented from crossing it on one solitary occasion, when she had to wait for two days within the Heads. The depth of water on the Clarence River bar is from 12 to 14 feet.

There are two descriptions of bar-mouthed rivers on this coast—those that have a rocky promontory or ridge of rocks to the southward, and those that have not. Of the former description are Hunter's River or the port of Newcastle; the Hastings, or Port Macquarie; and the Clarence River. Of the latter description are the Manning River, the Macleay, and the Richmond. In the former of these cases, the channel, although indifferent, is permanent and generally improvable; in the latter it is constantly shifting, from the movable sands at the rivers' mouths changing their position after every strong gale or heavy flood. The deep water channel, for instance, at the entrance of the Richmond River, is now two miles distant from its position a few years ago. In such circumstances any permanent improvement of the navigation is scarcely practicable.

The Clarence River bar is of a very different character. In its

effort to disembogue itself into the vast Pacific, the river encounters a sand-bank, which has evidently been formed by the surges of the ocean, and which forces the river to take a southerly course, till it impinges upon the elevated and rocky promontory that forms its south head. It there sweeps round the point of the sand-spit, and pursues a northerly course till it reaches the point of exit, where it finds its way out over the bar as it best can. But between that point and the southern promontory already mentioned, there is a reef of rocks running out northerly, parallel to the course of the river in its last or ocean-reach, for about 250 yards. In times of flood, when there is a vast body of water to discharge, the river forces itself over this reef of rocks, and the strength of the current being thus weakened in the deep-water channel, an accumulation of sand and gravel takes place and forms or perpetuates the river bar. But as the ledge of rocks I have mentioned would form a firm foundation for the construction of a breakwater, so as to confine the river in times of flood to its proper channel, there is reason to believe that if such an improvement were effected, the strength of the current would either remove the bar or keep it sufficiently low for all the purposes of coasting navigation.*

A survey of the Clarence River bar has recently been made by — Moriarty, Esq., principal engineer of the government of New South Wales, who has estimated the cost of the necessary works for the permanent improvement of the navigation at, I believe, 115,000*l.* If this amount should be expended while the Clarence River is still a part of New South Wales, the debt (for the funds for the purpose will have to be raised on Government debentures, bearing interest), would of course fall to be borne by the colony of Queensland.

* When the Dutch took the northern part of the Brazils from Portugal about 200 years ago, they observed near the ancient city of Olinda, a remarkable reef of coral rocks stretching, like the string of a bent bow, across the greater part of a capacious bay a few miles to the southward. The idea immediately struck them that this reef would form an excellent harbour on the then exposed line of coast, and they accordingly filled up the blank spaces or breaks in the reef with vast blocks of granite which they brought for the purpose from a distance, and fixed with strong iron clamps to the coral reef. When the wind blows strong from seaward, the surf breaks over the reef, but does no harm to vessels inside. A town speedily grew up on the spot, which the Portuguese used to call *Recife* or Reef, but which is now called Pernambuco from the name of the province in which it is situated.

23*rd.*—The Clarence River is by far the largest river on the east coast of Australia, to the southward of Moreton Bay. Its average width from its mouth to Grafton, which is forty-five miles from the Heads by water, and for a considerable distance farther up, is about half a mile; and there is a whole series of creeks, arms, estuaries, and tributary rivers intersecting the country in all directions between Grafton and the sea. Indeed, the extent of navigable water within the Heads of the Clarence River is very great, and the adaptation of the country for the settlement of an agricultural, and especially of a cotton-growing population, is evident and unquestionable. The river is navigable for thirty miles above Grafton, to the Falls, although the distance by land is only about twelve miles; and a navigable tributary, called the Orara, with much good land on its banks, enters it at this point.

For about twenty-five miles of its course from the Heads, the land on the Clarence River is comparatively worthless, consisting principally of mangrove swamps, sand-banks, &c. In short, the solid land is here only in the process of formation, and the same metamorphosis of water into land, which has doubtless been gone through during the countless ages of the past in the upper part of the valley of the Clarence, is here still in visible progress. For there can be no doubt whatever that all the low land in that valley has been reclaimed from the sea by successive deposits from the river in the course of ages. It is profoundly interesting to contemplate these "Vestiges of Creation," or, in other words, to see how a large portion of the earth has been formed and fitted for the habitation of man. I am strongly of opinion, that as the cotton-plant, which will doubtless form the great staple production of this district, thrives best in that description of land called "salt swamp," much of this "drowned land" will be found perfectly available for the growth of this most important Australian product of the future.

As I passed up the Clarence River, on my first visit, at night, and saw but little of the splendid scenery of the river, I shall here insert the following passage from a communication I received on the subject from the late Captain Perry, Deputy Surveyor-General of New South Wales, giving an account of his own second visit to that district. I found all its statements abundantly confirmed on my second visit.

"The navigation of the river for all vessels that can cross the bar, which is rather formidable in appearance, extends as high as about sixty miles from the Heads, that is, according to the course of the river, though the distance in a direct line cannot be much more than thirty miles. The navigation is exceedingly beautiful. After crossing the bar, you enter into a broad expanse of water, perfectly land-locked, and without any apparent current—hence the first nautical surveyors, imagining that what they saw in the bay was the whole extent of the water, called it Shoal Bay. On the south side of the bay is an estuary of considerable extent, navigable for boats, and abounding with fish of enormous size, resembling cod-fish—those I saw were nearly six feet long. On the banks of this estuary is a large tract of good country, varied in surface, and admirably adapted for cultivation, being chiefly a deposit from the neighbouring mountains. Round a low, wooded island, on the west side of the bay, flows the river (perhaps miscalled, for it appears to be still but an arm of the sea), and which is of majestic beauty. Its breadth may be averaged at half a mile, and the depth varying from five to nine fathoms. On each side the banks present a deep belt of the most luxuriant forest-brush, upon soil of the richest description; the breadth of the brush seldom exceeds the eighth of a mile, behind which are extensive reedy swamps and slight undulations. There are no lofty mountains very near the coast. A few miles above the island above-mentioned, the river breaks to the northward into a delta. I went a considerable distance up the principal branch, and found everywhere excellent land of a light description, some of the nooks presenting pine brushes. The height of the pine trees, at their full growth, is about ninety feet, and they are as straight as an arrow. Their timber is light, close-grained, and admirably adapted for floorings, as well as for masts of small vessels. About fifteen miles above Shoal Bay, the river breaks into two arms, both of which are navigable. At an elbow formed by the northern arm, a vast estuary opens to view; the land on its immediate banks is of good quality, but of no great extent eastward, in which direction it is confined by a range of moderately high mountains. To the northward, the land is more open, and recedes more from the banks of the estuary; on the west side also, there is a considerable extent of good land, consisting chiefly of large reedy

swamps. The northern is the principal arm of the river; and along its banks, which are clothed with brush, less dense than lower down, the land is rich and deep, and throwing out many splendid specimens of the great native fig-tree, a species of caoutchouc, from the upper branches of which festoons of cane resembling the sugar cane frequently occur. The island formed by the union of the north and south arms of the river, contains, by estimation, 40,000 acres of land, the greater part of which is of excellent quality, and its advantages for the location of a settlement of industrious persons are obvious. When I visited it (and I walked from one end to the other), there were but two families living upon it—one was managing a dairy-farm, and the other building a vessel of 150 tons burthen for the coasting trade. The eastern part of the island consists of a small range of mountains about 400 feet high, commanding views up and down the river (which, at this point, bears a strong resemblance to the Rhine between Coblentz and Nieuwied) and to the great South Pacific. This mountain, with its lateral branches, affords pasturage for cattle, and a limited number of sheep. Between it and the northern arm of the river is a lagoon of fresh water, of the most delicious coolness, and clear as crystal, around which the land is of the richest description, being the alluvial deposit from the mountain. For a considerable distance beyond the lagoon (westward) the land is still of a grazing character, and so continues till about the middle of the island, from whence, to the south-west extremity, it is of surpassing fertility. The grass, as we walked through it, was above our heads, and so thick, that it was requisite during the whole of our walk to perform with our arms something like the action of swimming, and to keep near together lest we should lose our leader in the long grass. In the brushes by which the island is margined, and on the opposite banks (particularly on the south side) there was abundance of cedar, which has now been considerably thinned by the parties licensed by the government to cut it for export. About midway between the lagoon above-mentioned, and the south-west extremity of the island, is another lagoon; and, in fact, there is no scarcity of water. On the opposite bank near the south-west extremity of the island, a small river, taking its rise in the marshes at the foot of the mountains between the Clarence and the Orara, flows through a rich

country, more varied in surface than the island. From this river to the confluence of the Orara with the Clarence, a distance of nearly thirty miles, by a depth of three to five miles, all the land is admirably adapted for cultivation—the maize produced upon such parts of it as have been cultivated is equal to any I have seen, and is a never-failing crop, easy of cultivation, and always commanding a market, as forage for horses, or for the fattening of pigs, poultry, &c.; but the part between the river last mentioned and the Clarence is far superior, as a country for cultivation, to any of an equal extent that I have seen. In one block of about 30,000 acres, there appears to be scarcely an acre of what may be called indifferent land, and the whole is so intersected with streams and fresh-water marshes, that if such a block were divided into farms of 300 acres, each farm would have its proportion of the advantages common to the whole."

To continue my Rough Notes:—The land available for agriculture commences at a point where the river forms what is called "The Devil's Elbow," about twenty miles below Grafton; and from that point to the Falls, thirty miles above the town by the course of the river, the land on both sides is of alluvial formation, and therefore fitted, in the highest degree, for cultivation.

Describing this part of the river, in a paper drawn up at my request, before I had myself visited the Clarence River, the late Oliver Fry, Esq., J.P., then Commissioner of Crown Lands for the district, writes as follows:—"After passing this point, it may be briefly characterised, for nearly thirty miles, as a series of thinly-timbered flats, occasionally intersected by detached portions of the hills which form the basin of the Clarence, running down to the verge of the water; a belt of brush (varying in width from one to four hundred yards) fringing the stream all the way up. As it is to these flats (so obviously intended by nature for the production of grain, and so favourably situated for its exportation) that the agriculturist would undoubtedly have recourse, I shall endeavour to convey an idea of their character. They are of various sizes; many of them extending along the river for miles, the soil being a deep, dark alluvial deposit, on a substratum of clay, covered at top by a layer of vegetable decomposition, the accumulation of ages, and so thinly timbered, that

isolated acres may be found unencumbered by a single tree. The astonishing vegetation with which they are clothed is almost inconceivable, such indeed as I have never witnessed elsewhere, save in the equally favoured regions on the Richmond. It is impossible to imagine a country more worthy of having bestowed upon it the labour of the husbandman, or one more likely to remunerate him for his toil, than the localities to which I refer; as they are remarkable not alone for the excellence of the land, but for being placed under a climate, than which, none can be more conducive to the process of vegetation."

To resume my Notes:—There are several islands in the Clarence River. One of these, called Woodford Island, contains about 40,000 acres of land, the greater part of which is available for agriculture. The main channel is on its north side, but there is another channel on its south side available for small steamers; and a navigable tributary, called the Goldstream, of from 70 to 120 yards in width, and having much eligible land on its banks, enters the river in this south channel. In short, as I once heard a German gentleman say of Holland, when seeing it for the first time, in coming down the Rhine in a Prussian dampfschiff, or steamboat, *Ach! es ist ein ganz Wasserland!* the lower part of the Clarence River district is *a complete waterland*, presenting innumerable water courses of every description. The wonderful facilities which these will afford for the future settlement of the country, with an agricultural population, and for the conveyance of their produce to market, are self-evident.

At the period of my last visit, I found that an extensive meat-curing establishment, on an improved process, had been formed by a Scotch gentleman, a Mr. Atchison, on the Broad Water, one of the beautiful estuaries described by Captain Perry, on the north branch of the river. While the steamboat Urara stopped to land supplies from Sydney, Mr. Atchison showed me over the establishment, the condition of which was highly creditable to its spirited proprietor; and I was told at the time that he had contracted to kill and cure five thousand head of cattle for Clark Irving, Esq., the member of parliament for the Clarence District. An incipient town had also been formed a few miles farther up at the "Elbow," the place where the road to Fairfield and the other northern diggings commences. It is called Lawrence, and

has a post-office for the surrounding district, one or two stores, two public-houses, and a blacksmith and wheelwright's shop. If the place has as yet but a very limited population, it has at all events splendid river scenery, and much good land to attract a larger. On the opposite or right bank of the river, nearer Grafton, an agricultural settlement has been formed on a rich tract of land in a parish or district called by its beautiful native name, Ulmarra*; and it was exceedingly interesting as the steam-boat stopped for a little at the different landing-places on her passage up the noble river to see the small farmers, of whom a large proportion are from Scotland, assembled in groups on the bank of the river, to receive their supplies, and to welcome their relations who had been visiting the capital, or to embark their maize, poultry and other produce on the steamer's return.

To return to my Notes:—The town of Grafton, like that of Brisbane at Moreton Bay, is beautifully situated on an elbow of the river, on its northern bank; a subsidiary town, like that of South Brisbane, being in process of formation in the bight on the opposite side. In such cases the strength of the current in times of flood is always directed into the bight; and the river banks

* The following description of the parish of Ulmarra will doubtless interest the reader:—

Surveyor's Description of the Parish of Ulmarra, on the Clarence River, consisting of 25,005 acres.

The soil of this parish is of a light, rich, alluvial formation, with a substratum of strong clay, and contains no stone whatever. It is highly calculated for agricultural purposes. The forest brush is very thick on the banks of the rivers, but this is chiefly on account of the vines and other parasitical plants which are easily cleared away. Most of the reedy plains are swampy in the rainy season, and dry in summer. They are intersected by numerous wet ditches and water-holes, and might be drained with great advantage at a comparatively trifling expense.

The Coldstream River (one of the tributaries of the Clarence) is in some places 120 yards wide, but its average width is from 55 to 70 yards. Its banks are abrupt, and its depth from 14 to 25 feet. It is navigable for vessels of 70 tons burthen. There is plenty of water throughout this parish, except on the immediate banks of the Clarence, where, however, it may always be procured by sinking wells.

The timber consists chiefly of oak (casuarina), gum, turpentine, cedar, fig, nettle, rosewood, flindersia, hickory, with a great many species of scrub wood.

(Signed) W. C. B. Wilson, *Contract Surveyor.*

5th Dec. 1841.

(A true copy,) S. A. Perry, *D.S.G.*

16th March, 1846.

on that side are consequently considerably higher than on the opposite side. It is also observable here, as on other Australian rivers, that the banks are highest in the immediate vicinity of the river, and that the land falls gradually as you recede from the stream. This arises from the sand and gravel, brought down by the current in times of flood, subsiding from its greater weight close to the current, while the earthy and lighter particles mixed up in the muddy water are diffused over a great extent of country behind. For this reason also the higher banks are generally of a more sandy and gravelly character than where they are lower or than the land immediately behind.

During the interval that had elapsed since my first visit, the town of Grafton had been incorporated, and has now a mayor and town council. These municipal functionaries deserve great credit for what they have already done in forming, clearing, and making the streets, in bridging over the creeks, and in the other improvements they have effected in the place. Grafton will be a noble town in due time. The situation is most commanding, and the scenery on both sides, both up and down the river, is picturesque and beautiful in the highest degree. There is a low, wooded island in the river, called Susan Island, which, I was told, had been entirely under water, a few years before, in a high flood, and which forms a very interesting object in the *coup d'œil* up the stream.

The population of the two towns, North and South Grafton, may be from 1500 to 2000. In consequence of the discovery of gold-fields within the district, and at a moderate distance from Grafton, it is rapidly increasing. The nearest of these gold-fields or diggings, called Nimboyda, is within forty miles of Grafton, on the Armidale road. Another, called Pretty Gulley, within ten miles of Tabulam, an important locality in the district, is eighty miles from Grafton. The table-land, or Timbarra diggings are ninety miles distant; and Tooloom, another gold-field, a hundred miles. Coal has been found in abundance within twelve or fifteen miles of Grafton, and a seam of six or eight inches has been discovered at the "Elbow." Copper ore has also been found in the district.

With regard to the produce of the land under grain crops, although wheat had not been grown to any considerable extent,

the produce realised, in various instances, during the past year, had varied from twenty to forty bushels per acre. Maize, or Indian corn, is the principal cereal produced on the Clarence River; and I was told, on good authority, of a piece of ground near Grafton, of eleven acres in extent, which had yielded at the rate of 103 bushels of that grain to the acre. The average of the maize crop, however, was stated to me as being sixty bushels per acre for the past year. Alfred Lardner, Esq., the mayor of Grafton, told me, that from a piece of ground which had been under constant cultivation for twelve years, yielding sometimes one and sometimes two crops a year, the yearly return was sixty, sixty-two, and sixty-three bushels per acre.

I may also mention, as a remarkable instance of the extraordinary fertility of the district, that a young peach-tree, about eight feet high, and covered with blossoms, happened to attract my notice in the garden of the Rev. James Collins, Tyrone Villa, near Grafton; and Mr. Collins informed me that the peach-stone from which that tree had grown had been planted by himself in the month of January preceding, only eight months before.

Thomas Williamson, an intelligent English emigrant, whom I found residing on the flat near Grafton on my first visit, told me on that occasion, that he had emigrated from Crewe in England, with his wife and nine children, of whom four were grown-up daughters (one of whom died on his arrival in the colony), in October 1854. He was a sawyer to his business, and had been employed for hire in that capacity by a resident in the district for six months after his arrival, at the rate of 4*l.* per week, besides rations. He then commenced business on his own account with his two sons, who were respectively twelve and fifteen years of age, and who worked with him in the sawpit. He had purchased two town allotments of ground, of half an acre and eight perches each, or one acre and sixteen perches altogether. The Government minimum price for such allotments was 4*l.* 8*s.* each; but he had purchased his at second hand, and had paid 19*l.* for the two, and the fencing of his ground had cost him 13*l.* He had sunk a well on his ground, twenty-five feet deep, in which he had a constant supply of excellent water, three feet in depth. The well was all bricked, and had a pulley and axle, and it had cost him 14*l.* altogether. His house, as is generally the case with prudent

emigrants, was a mere temporary erection*; but he was putting up out-buildings for a substantial house to be erected in due time. He had barley growing on each side of his garden, and English potatoes in the middle—enough of the latter for his family,—and a patch of Indian corn and melons were growing at the farther extremity. Kitchen vegetables were shooting up nearer his house, and peach-trees were growing in various parts of the ground. He had also a piggery—one pig lately killed, and another to follow. I omitted, inadvertently, to inquire for this deserving emigrant on my last visit; but as he wished to have his case reported at home, especially in his own neighbourhood at Crewe, that some, at least, of his fellow-countrymen might be induced to follow his example in emigrating to Australia, I have much pleasure in now complying with his request.

On my last visit to the Clarence district, hearing that a French gentleman, a M. Adam, from the Isle of Bourbon and the Mauritius, had purchased an estate of about 350 acres of land, on a fresh-water creek communicating with the river, a few miles from Grafton, on which he had for some time been forming a sugar-plantation, I rode out with a friend, during my stay, to ascertain what success was likely to attend his interesting labours. I found M. Adam and his two sons, one of whom had been one of my fellow-passengers from Sydney, on the plantation; and he showed me his canes, of which he had a considerable extent growing, and which were then ready for cutting. They were larger considerably, he observed, that is, of greater diameter, and would yield more saccharine matter, than those of the Mauritius and Reunion. He had been somewhat doubtful of his success the previous year; but he was then quite confident as to the result. He told me his canes would yield four tons of sugar to the acre, and that a hundred acres of such produce would ensure him a return of 12,000*l.* a year. As I have always regarded the production of sugar and cotton by European free labour—an operation which, from all I have myself seen and heard, I believe to be perfectly practicable

* Proverbs xxiv. 27. "*Prepare thy work* WITHOUT, *and make it fit for thyself in the field; and* AFTERWARDS *build thine house.*" This appears to have been one of the wise counsels addressed by King Solomon to the Jewish emigrants who were about to settle in the countries conquered by his father David. Building the house in the first instance has been the ruin of many settlers in Australia.

—as one of the most important achievements of the future for our wronged and oppressed humanity, I was naturally greatly interested in M. Adam's undertaking, and I cordially wished him all success.

At the nomination of candidates for the representation of the Clarence and Richmond district in the Legislative Assembly of the colony, at the general election of 1859—the first that had taken place under the Electoral Reform Act of New South Wales —Alfred Lardner, Esq., the returning officer for the district, made the following observations, illustrative of the general progress of the district, to an audience of upwards of 300 persons, by whom they were most cordially received:—

"Before we proceed to the immediate business which has called us together, I will, with your permission, say a few words. And, in the first place, I would warmly congratulate you on the fact that the Clarence has attained such a degree of importance as to send a representative to the Legislative Assembly. When I first arrived here the place was a wilderness; it is now a flourishing town and district. When we were first called upon to elect a member (about nine years ago), we were (for reasons which are now understood) united with Darling Downs,—a place with which we are as much connected as with the Gulf of Carpentaria. With one exception, the persons elected hitherto were from that quarter, quite unacquainted with, and careless of, the interests of the Clarence. As a natural result, we have been almost neglected, and virtually unrepresented. This great evil has been remedied by the new Electoral Act, and we now are enabled to return a representative. In order to give some idea of the progress the district has made, I will just state that in 1851, or ten years after its settlement for grazing purposes, there were only thirty-five names on the electoral roll; in 1855 a few town lots had been sold, and the number had increased to eighty-three; in 1856 the sale of farms commenced, and in 1857 there were 147 persons entitled to vote; in 1858 a considerable number of farms were sold; consequently a large number of farmers arrived, increasing the list of electors to 280. At the present time the list is 516 in the district of Grafton. So much for the effect of opening the land in populating the district, besides the addition to the revenue of about 20,000*l.* per annum. The Richmond district, including

the Tweed and part of the Timbarra gold-fields, has 420 electors. Grafton and its neighbourhood has, you will observe, about half the votes of the whole electorate, being a fixed population consisting mostly of freeholders; the others are for the greater part unstationary (squatters, sawyers, and gold diggers)."

The following is an extract of the report of the correspondent of the "Moreton Bay Courier" respecting the Fairfield or Clarence River gold-fields: it is for the year 1858:—

"There are 1000 miners at work over thirty miles of country, running parallel with and to the south of the Tenterfield and Grafton road, and they are all earning good wages. There has been no rush there; they have come, and are coming, and daily extending themselves on an extensive gold-field within 200 miles of Brisbane. I rode over nearly the whole diggings, and talked with dozens of miners, whom I knew before. I am perfectly satisfied it is the best gold-field in New South Wales.

"There are five stores. Things are reasonable in price, but scarce, and are likely to be so now. No credit is asked or given. It is a dreadfully broken country; the table-land, where there are fully one half of the men at work, being scrubby and rocky, and almost impassable, except certain tracts."

The following is a list of exports from the port of Grafton in the year 1858. The year 1859 would, no doubt, exhibit a very considerable addition to most of the items; but I could not lay my hands on a later report.

List of Exports from the Port of Grafton, in the year 1858:—

	£	s.	d.
1362 bales of wool, 476,700 lbs., at 1s. 6d.	36,752	10	0
314 tons of tallow, 942 casks, 3 to ton, at 40*l.*	12,560	0	0
6500 hides, at 15s.	4,875	0	0
1775 sheepskins, at 3s.	266	5	0
195 cwt. bacon, at 60s.	591	0	0
594 tierces salt beef, at 60s.	1,782	0	0
3800 lbs. cheese, at 6d.	95	0	0
27 carcases beef, at 120s.	162	0	0
372 boxes stearine candles, at 1s. 3d. a lb.	520	16	0
109 fat sheep, at 20s.	109	0	0
114 beef hams, at 25s.	142	10	0
100 calfskins, at 5s.	25	0	0
182 calves, at 36s.	273	0	0
161 fat pigs, at 50s.	402	10	0
Carried forward	£58,556	11	0

Brought forward	£58,556	11	0
25 horses, at £30	750	0	0
8036 bushels maize, at 8s.	3,214	8	0
266 bushels wheat, at 10s.	133	0	0
100 bushels barley, at 6s.	30	0	0
44 sacks potatoes, at 10s.	22	0	0
9 cwt. onions, at 20s.	9	0	0
Hoofs, horns, shank bones, butter, eggs, poultry, vegetables, dried fish, timber, and sundries	500	0	0
Gold, say 2000 ozs., at 70s. (from Timbarra)	7,000	0	0
Total	£70,214	19	0

Including stock sent overland to Victoria, &c., the total value must be near £100,000; but I have not been able to obtain reliable particulars of overland exports.

To this report the correspondent of the "Moreton Bay Courier," at a somewhat later date than the preceding, appends the following observations:—

"These two articles, maize and gold, will figure very largely in the present year's list (1859). It is computed that there are more than 1000 acres of the former within a radius of seven miles of Grafton, and which are expected to yield something like 50,000 bushels.

"As to the gold, there appears to be from 700 to 1000 ounces sent down every trip of the Grafton (once in ten days to a fortnight). It is believed that about 1400 diggers are at work, and most of them are doing well, as may be easily seen by their quiet and contented behaviour. About thirty-five teams are employed between Grafton and the Timbarra in conveying supplies, and the steamer has some difficulty in doing all the trade.* This is quite sufficient to show that a good and permanent gold-field has been at last discovered in the north, which, with the desire to purchase and cultivate land, promises ere long to make squatting a secondary affair on the Clarence. The agricultural population even now exceeds those employed in grazing pursuits upon the lower part of the river."

To resume my Rough Notes for 1856:—I had only been a few hours in Grafton, when I was indignantly informed by several respectable inhabitants of the place, of two instances of delectable government on the part of the absentee authorities of the northern districts, that in my opinion are more weighty

* A second steamer has since been placed on this line.

in favour of separation than a whole volume of arguments. Arriving, as I had done, from the colony in England, in the month of December, 1846, shortly after the passing of the Squatting Act, but before the Orders in Council, which were afterwards appended to it with the force of the Act, had been decided on, I was invited by Mr. Hawes, who was then Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, to offer any suggestions I might think expedient on the subject. I did so accordingly; and after premising that although Australia was remarkably destitute of rivers or navigable water, I showed that it was not so absolutely, as there were several rivers, particularly on the east coast, available for steam navigation, and presenting a large extent of valuable alluvial land directly available for the settlement of an agricultural population. With a view, therefore, to so desirable a consummation, I suggested that in the forthcoming Orders in Council, seven miles from all navigable water should be reserved from the operation of the Squatting Act, and the rights of pre-emption it conceded to the squatters. This suggestion of plain common sense—which involved a principle of the easiest possible application, and of the utmost practical value, and which would have left all the river frontage everywhere open for settlement, and insured to the inhabitants of all the future small towns on the navigable streams of the colony, commonage and pasturage independently of the squatters—was, unfortunately, rejected by the Commissioners of Land and Emigration, to whom my letter of suggestions was referred by Earl Grey. Setting aside the general principle, about which there could have been no mistake, and which would in reality have been no encroachment whatever on the princely domain of the squatters, the commissioners took up the case of the Australian rivers, about which they could know absolutely nothing, individually and in detail; ordering, for example (for their recommendations were forthwith embodied in the Orders in Council, with the authority of an Act of Parliament), that for twenty miles from the mouth of the Glenelg River in Port Phillip, and of the Richmond River on this coast, two miles on each side of the river should be reserved for the settlement of an agricultural population. But in both cases the land on both sides of these rivers for the first twenty miles from their mouths is either a miserable scrub, or a series

of mangrove swamps, utterly useless either for man or for beast. In this way the towns of Grafton, both north and south, were placed within the operation of the Squatting Act, and the rights of pre-emption which it created. And what has been the result? Why, in the case of North Grafton, a great squatter in the neighbourhood, a Mr. Sharp, who has an extensive run and a boiling-down establishment in the vicinity, has been permitted, by a paternal government, to purchase, under his pre-emptive right, and I presume at the minimum price, one or two sections of land *close to the town*, thereby hemming in the townspeople into the mere point or elbow, and obliging them to pay whatever exorbitant price he may be pleased to ask for the future extension of their holdings. In like manner, on the south side of the river, a Mr. Ryan, who has a run in the neighbourhood of South Grafton, has been permitted, by the absentee government and their agents on the spot, to purchase at two different times, and at the farcical price of a pound and a penny an acre, 1800 acres of land in the immediate vicinity of the town, thereby completely hemming in the unfortunate townspeople, and subjecting them, one and all, to the grasping cupidity of this lord of the manor! So valuable is the land which Mr. Ryan has thus been permitted to monopolise at a merely nominal price, that a suburban allotment adjoining it has actually been purchased at £30 an acre! In short, this is only one of the many instances that might easily be produced in which the government of these colonies, and especially of the northern districts, by and for Great Britain, has been a curse to the country and not a blessing—in which government, as it is called, has been administered for the depression and ruin, and not for the welfare and advancement of the people.

I have no fault to find with Mr. Sharp or Mr. Ryan. They merely did what most others would have done in their circumstances. I only blame the absentee government for permitting such nefarious transactions. These cases are the more glaring that, as far as I could learn, with the exception of half a section or so purchased by Dr. Dobie, to secure the possession of a house he had built on his run, they are the only cases of purchases under the pre-emption right on the Clarence River.

To these notices of the present condition of the Clarence dis-

trict, I may add the following, which I received from the Surveyor-General's Department immediately before leaving New South Wales for England in December last:—

Lands open to Selection in the Clarence District.

Area, 5,254 acres 3 roods. No. of Portions, 112.

Lands to be shortly proclaimed at Tabulam and Grafton.

		A.	R.	P.
No. of Portions, 69	Area,	2,059	2	4.
„ „ 49	„	2,714	0	4.

Lands offered for Sale on the 10th and 26th October, 1860.

					Unsold. Open to Selection.		
		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
Grafton, No. of Portions, 18	Area,	955	2	0	775	0	1 6
Casino, „ „ 6	„	69	0	16	83	0	25

The Lands Act of New South Wales, which is destined to effect a complete revolution, and, I trust, a salutary one, for that colony, had not passed in 1860, but was to be submitted to Parliament in January, 1861.

24th (Sunday).—Preached at South Grafton, in the large room in Mr. Cowan's hotel, in the forenoon, and at the Court-house in North Grafton, in the afternoon; the congregations in both cases being larger than I anticipated and very attentive. The Romish priest from Armidale had been making his quarterly visit to the district, and been celebrating Divine Service in a small wooden chapel recently erected for his communion in South Grafton. I observed several families of German emigrants, of that communion, who are now located on the flat at North Grafton, returning home in the evening, after attending Divine Service on the opposite side. There is now an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Wesleyan Methodist, and a Roman Catholic place of worship, in Grafton; as also a National School, and a Mechanics' Institution, or School of Arts.

25th.—The steamboat, having the larger part of her cargo for South Grafton, had remained discharging on that side of the river till Saturday evening, when she crossed over to a wharf on the other side, where she landed another portion of her lading; coming up on Monday morning to Mr. Collie's inn (higher up the river), where I was staying, and discharging the rest of her cargo there. Among other recipients of cargo at this locality, I observed

three Germans from the flat, one of whom was dragging, while the other two were pushing a small truck on four low solid wooden wheels, such as I recollected having seen in Germany. They had several bags of flour in their truck, with a bundle of vine cuttings, indicating their intention to resume the cultivation of the vine in their adopted country. Most of the Germans, of whom there is a considerable number altogether, in this district, are from the Rheingau, or the Grand Duchy of Nassau; a few being from Wirtemberg. They are mostly Roman Catholics. I conversed a little with a few of them—chiefly the fraus or wives, whom I found with their children in their cottages on the flat, in the absence of their husbands who were out at work. They complained bitterly of the system under which they had been brought out to the colony, and of the injustice, they alleged, they had experienced. And from inquiries I have since made on the subject, it would appear that these complaints have not been without reason. They showed me a printed paper in German, from which it appeared that they had been engaged to pay so much for their passage *nach Australien* (to Australia); but they also showed me a summons which had just been served upon the husband of one of the *fraus* to pay 7*l.* odds for the passage of his family to Grafton. This they could not understand, and I was unable to help them to a satisfactory explanation. In short, there is something extremely heartless in this German immigration, in whatever light it is regarded. In the first place it is embarked in by the parties interested purely as a mercantile speculation; the profit being calculated at so much per head, precisely as in the case of the importation of negroes into Cuba from the coast of Africa. In the second place, the whippers-in, who are employed by the shipowners to collect the emigrants in Germany, are, for the most part, unprincipled persons, who get together any description of people that will pass muster from any kind of place, and who fleece the unfortunate emigrants at all hands. And in the third place, families and individuals that have been accustomed to live together in small communities, as is universally the case with the agricultural population on the continent of Europe, in their native land, are placed on their arrival in this country on some solitary station in the interior, where, perhaps, there is not a single individual within a day's journey

who can either understand a word of their language, or has the slightest sympathy with or for them. In one word, the German immigration that is now in progress is nothing more nor less than a mitigated form of the slave trade for the time being—the German emigrants are bought in their own country at so much per head, and they are sold for a certain period on their arrival here to the highest bidder for what they will bring, without the slightest consideration for their feelings in any way. Nay, they are brought out as vine-dressers, and in almost every instance they are hired out as common labourers or shepherds. For my own part, I protest against so heartless a system of immigration with all my heart, and especially against the encouragement and support of it by public funds.*

A horrible case of the alleged poisoning of a whole tribe of black natives by a squatter in the Clarence River district is commonly reported to have taken place a good many years ago. The blacks had been rather troublesome for some time previous, and the substance employed to accomplish the work of death, on a regular wholesale scale, was arsenic; which was carefully mixed up for the purpose with a quantity of flour, which had been given ostensibly as a present to the unfortunate aborigines, for some service they had rendered to the squatter—

> "For wild as the accents of lovers' farewell,
> Are the deeds that they do, and the tales that they tell."

I was told, by a party I believe worthy of credit, that not fewer than twenty-four of the dead bodies had actually been seen, where the poisoning had taken place, and that the requisite evidence to establish the charge had been forwarded to Sydney at the time. Why, then, was there nothing more heard of it? I presume the Clarence River was too far off from Sydney to inquire into such matters. If so, here is another case for separation.

The greatest change which I found had taken place in the Clarence district, between my first and second visits, was the

* I may add, by way of anticipation, that the New Lands Act, recently passed by the Legislature of Queensland, has provided an effectual remedy for this evil, by insuring to the immigrant, or to the person who pays his passage out, an extent of land more than sufficient to defray the cost of his passage. And the boon is extended to foreigners as well as to Britons.

universal demand which I found during the past year for separation from New South Wales and annexation to Queensland.

I had been told in Sydney, in 1856, as also on the passage down, that it would be vain to say anything about separation, or the 30th parallel of latitude as the future boundary of New South Wales and the Moreton Bay Colony, at Grafton, as the Clarence River people were against the proposal to a man.

This, however, I did not find to be the case, even then; for, although there were, at that time, not a few strong opponents of separation from New South Wales, incited and backed by government influence, there were many, and I believe a decided majority of the resident householders, as strongly in favour of that measure. But there was no difference of opinion on the subject in 1860. There had been a public meeting held in Grafton, shortly before my last visit, to take the matter into consideration, and the result was the unanimous and strong expression of a desire for separation from New South Wales—a few indeed calling out for a separate colony altogether, but the great majority, for annexation to Queensland.

26*th*.—Left Grafton on horseback for the Richmond River at 10 A.M.

There is a considerable extent of beautiful land naturally clear of timber and ready for the plough, called the flat, to the northward of Grafton. The road then passes over an undulating forest country, lightly timbered, well-grassed, and abounding in excellent water. As the country ascends considerably in this direction, there will be no difficulty in providing a sufficient supply of this indispensable element, from a moderate distance, for the future wants of the town. Bivouacked for an hour by the way, and allowed my horse to feed on the grass near a pool of limpid water, and then mounting again, I arrived at Hindmarsh's house of accommodation for travellers, thirty-two miles from Grafton, towards evening.

27*th*.—Started again for the Richmond in the morning, and after passing over a tract of country, somewhat similar to that which I had traversed the previous day, with occasional patches of indifferent country, reached McDonald's house of accommodation—twenty-two miles—about one o'clock. Mr. McDonald's family are from the north of Scotland. They had been engaged

by Dr. Dobie for his station on the Clarence River; and having thus acquired the requisite colonial experience in the bush, they are now possessed of very considerable property in sheep and cattle. Mr. McDonald's position and prospects, I learned afterwards, had been very indifferent in Sydney, when he was engaged by Dr. Dobie. What a pity it is that hundreds of families in similar circumstances, who are merely living from hand to mouth, merely vegetating in an overgrown capital, do not follow his example! I found a little black boy here, with whose history, which Mrs. McDonald related to me, I was much interested. About four or five years ago there had been an epidemic among the aborigines, which carried off many of their numbers. A small tribe from New England — the elevated table-land to the westward of the coast range of mountains — had then been encamped at some distance on Mr. McDonald's sheep station. One of their number, the father of the little boy, took ill and died, and the blacks were so alarmed that they decamped immediately without burying him. His gin took ill also and died, and when Mr. McDonald's children found them, the poor little infant was sucking at the breast of his dead mother! They brought the child home with them, and they are now teaching him to read. I heard him read a page of words of one syllable, from a spelling-book with pictures of animals, which he was much gratified in pointing out to me and telling me the names of. He had also been taught to repeat the Lord's Prayer.

After resting about an hour and a half, and getting some refreshment for man and horse, I started again for the Falls of the Richmond, distant twenty-two miles. The country continues pretty much of the same character for eight or ten miles, when it begins to improve very perceptibly on descending into the valley of the Richmond, various tributaries of which cross the track. The characteristic of the Richmond country is extensive plains of superior land, either very thickly timbered or without a tree. There is generally a belt of wood, narrower or wider, according to circumstances, along the course of the river; the plains stretching out behind.

The night began to fall before I had done my second twenty-two miles; and as my horse had wandered from the track as it was getting dark, I deemed it more prudent to dismount and

lead him, which I did accordingly for the last two or three miles. I had supposed that the inn to which I was bound was on the right bank of the river; but I found, on reaching the river bank about seven o'clock, that it was on the opposite side where I saw a light. I had no idea of the nature of the ford, and felt rather unwilling to cross, as it was quite dark, while the noise of the running water at the falls indicated a considerable current. So I *cooeyed* * with all my might, as I had learned to do in the bush thirty years ago. This brought down a man from the inn, who told me how and where to cross, and in a few minutes thereafter I was domiciled for the night at "The Durham Ox," by Mr. Meanley of the Falls.

28*th*.—Having been but little accustomed to the exercise of riding for some time past, I had been so fatigued and excited with my ride of forty-four miles the day previous, and of thirty-two the day preceding, that I was unable to sleep, and lay the live-long night listening to the sweet music of the Falls of the Richmond, which strongly reminded me of my native Caledonia. To a native of the land of the mountain and the flood, there is no music so sweet as that of running water. I had felt precisely in the same way about twenty years before, when crossing the island of Van Diemen's Land on horseback, I passed a sleepless night in a hotel close to the Falls of the Derwent River.

Desiring to visit the north arm of the Richmond during my stay on the river, I found a person going in that direction on horseback, and resolved to accompany him. We called, on our way, at Mr. Irving's head station at Casino; this being the absurd name which the former proprietor of the station had given it. There is a vast extent of eligible land, of the finest quality, on Mr. Irving's squatting station — grassy plains, gently wooded hills and ridges lightly timbered and covered with verdure to

* *Coo-ey*, with the rising inflection on the second syllable, is the *call* universally used by the aborigines of Australia. It can be heard to a much greater distance than any *call* made by Europeans; and the repetition of the *coo-ey*, it may be from a distant part of the forest, establishes a communication between two parties at once. The colonists all use the *coo-ey*. It was once used by a young lady, a native of New South Wales, who had been accidentally separated from her party in the crowd on the streets of London; and it answered its purpose at once—no doubt to the great astonishment of the cockneys, who would naturally think the strangers mad.

their summit, and valleys of the richest black soil imaginable. In one of these valleys, where a recently-formed water-course had cut through and cleared away the superincumbent soil to the rock, I observed that the soil, a rich black mould, apparently decomposed trap from the neighbouring hills, was actually six feet deep. The honeycomb character of the surface of the rocks proclaims their trappean origin, and accounts for the richness of the soil in the valleys below. I could not help anticipating the time when these hills should be covered with vineyards, for which both the soil and situation are admirably adapted. The main ridge which we had to cross on this route was elevated and steep, and the ascent exceedingly laborious; but the view from the summit more than repaid all the labour of the ascent. A series of rich plains of the same character as those I had traversed stretches for about fifteen miles towards the Pelican Tree, near the junction, where I understood the district surveyor, Mr. Peppercorn, had been laying out a township. The country maintains the same character — hill and dale, grassy plains and fertile valleys — as far as Mr. Goodfellow's, a respectable Scotch squatter, at whose station I spent the night; celebrating Divine service, on ascertaining that it would be acceptable to his family and hired servants, in the evening. Distance traversed about fourteen miles.

29*th*.—Mr. Goodfellow's station, called Tunstall, is picturesquely situated on Back Creek, a navigable water which falls into the North Arm of the Richmond at Lismore. His garden was in excellent order, and the state and produce of his vineyard completely justified my anticipations in regard to the soil and climate of the neighbouring hills. In short, there is nothing which the soil and climate of this country would not grow in the richest abundance.

Rode to W. Wilson's, Esq., J.P., at Lismore, on the North Arm, leaving my horse on the right bank of the river and crossing over in a boat. Mr. Wilson's cottage is beautifully situated on a rising ground overlooking a large extent of clear land, including the site of the township of Lismore; and his garden is tastefully laid out and kept in prime order, being situated on the slope which descends rapidly from the cottage to the river bank.

The Richmond River falls into the Pacific about twelve miles to the southward of Cape Byron. For the first twenty miles of

its course upwards from the ocean (the portion reserved by the collective wisdom of the United Kingdom for the settlement of an agricultural population), it runs parallel to the ocean at the distance of from three to five miles from the coast, and *the country on both sides is a mere mangrove swamp utterly worthless for the purposes of man.* Higher up the land begins to improve, and there is much brush land on both banks, of the first quality for cultivation. Higher up still the river is found to divide itself into two streams—the main river, or South Arm as it is called, coming from the westward, and the North Arm, by far the larger of the two, from the northward. Mr. Wilson's house at Lismore is upwards of eighty miles from the Heads by the course of the stream, but the distance by land is not above thirty miles. The North Arm is navigable a long way above Lismore, perhaps about twenty miles, and a whole series of tributary streams or creeks fall into it. On these creeks, as well as on various others that fall into the main river below the junction, there are numerous extensive and rich cedar brushes, which for twelve or fifteen years past, have afforded constant and highly remunerating employment to a comparatively numerous population of cedar-cutters, many of whom have wives and large families, as also to various colonial vessels and their crews.

It is principally, therefore, as a field for the collection of cedar and other valuable timber for the colonial market that the North Arm of the Richmond, with its various creeks and tributaries, has hitherto been occupied; the whole number of cattle on that Arm being not above ten thousand, while the number on the South Arm or main river, which is chiefly a cattle-grazing country, is not less than seventy thousand. The quantity of stock boiled down for the tallow exclusively, on both arms, is at present about ten thousand head annually. The land on the Richmond River is too rich for sheep, and gives them the foot-rot, and it is therefore occupied almost exclusively as cattle stations.

One should have thought that with so numerous a population, as there has been for so many years past on the Lower Richmond and the North Arm, some interest would have been taken, by a paternal government, in their welfare, and some efforts made for their social advancement. Here were hundreds of people, many

of them earning for years together, from 5*l.* to 7*l.* a week, and not a few of them with wives and children, leading a sort of vagabond life, like gipsies, in this naturally rich district. Surely, in such circumstances, the first duty of a government would have been to provide these people with the first requisite of civilisation,—a home,—by laying off townships for them in suitable localities, and holding out to them the opportunity of purchasing town and suburban allotments, and of thereby settling themselves as reputable and industrious citizens, bringing up their families like a civilised and Christian people. A surveyor might have done all this in a few months, and his surveys of particular towns and villages might easily have been wrought into a more general survey at any time thereafter. What then will be thought of the absentee government of the Richmond River district, when I state it as a positive fact, that up to the period of my visit to the Richmond River in the month of August, 1856, there had never been one town or suburban allotment sold on that river! Land for purchase had been applied for, both by squatters under their pre-emptive rights, and by the better class of cedar-cutters for many years past; but to no purpose. Not one town allotment was sold, not one acre of land was measured, for years and years in succession, by a paternal government! And what has been the consequence? Why, hundreds of people who would gladly have purchased town allotments and built good houses for their families if they could, and hundreds of others who would have purchased small portions of land to rear a few head of cattle or a horse or two for their households, were denied every opportunity of doing so; and as their only resource in the circumstances, were driven perforce to the public-house, to expend their earnings there in riotous dissipation, and to reduce their wives and families to misery and ruin. Cases of this kind—of cedar-cutters who had saved up one, two, three and even five hundred pounds, and who in a fit of desperation had spent the whole of it in the public-house—were mentioned to me as having been of frequent occurrence; and a respectable inhabitant of the district mentioned to me the case of a person who had saved up eight hundred pounds in this way, and had spent the whole of it at one bout of frenzied dissipation, simply because he could get no opportunity of purchasing even a town allotment in the district, and because the squatter on whose

run he had erected his hut had been threatening to dispossess him as a trespasser. How many unfortunate individuals have thus been consigned by bad government exclusively, or rather by no government at all, to misery and degradation in this district! How many families have thus been broken up and steeped in poverty and wretchedness, who might otherwise, with the slightest effort on the part of the government, have formed a numerous, industrious and reputable population! How many thousands and tens of thousands of pounds have been irrecoverably lost to the public treasury, and sunk in the public-house, instead of being invested in the purchase of town and suburban allotments, as well as in the erection of houses and the purchase of stock! How many victims of *delirium tremens* have hanged or drowned themselves, or been thrown as miserable outcasts upon the charities of the public—how many such cases have occurred no man can tell! But the number of all such cases has been very great, and the circumstance serves only to confirm what I have already stated in these notes, viz., that colonial government, such as it has been in times past, under the dictation of Downing Street, has been a curse rather than a blessing to these districts, and that it has hitherto been administered rather for the depression and ruin than for the welfare and advancement of the people.

How utterly valueless must all the usual efforts for the reclamation and reform of our fallen humanity—Temperance and Total Abstinence Societies for instance, Mechanics' Institutions, nay even churches and schools—how utterly valueless must not all these prove in the face of this grand Government Institution for the demoralisation and ruin of society,—the denial of a home and of everything in the shape of property to the people! It would have been preposterous for ministers or school-masters to attempt to settle themselves in such a community of government-made drunkards and wasters; and accordingly there are none in the district. It is a land of moral darkness, the region of the shadow of death! And yet it is as noble a country as the sun ever shone on; and it only requires a numerous, industrious and virtuous population, with the usual moral appliances of civilisation, to render it one of the finest countries in the world.

Mr. Peppercorn, the district surveyor, who has been for some

time past stationed on the Richmond River, has of late been laying out as many as four towns in the district; viz., Casino, at the Falls; Lismore, on the North Arm; Codrington, at the Pelican Tree, near the junction; and Deptford, at the Heads. These are all highly suitable sites for towns, and must all necessarily become places of importance, as the district increases in wealth and population. Had only as much been done ten or twelve years ago, and the land, both in town allotments and suburban sections, been thrown open for purchase to the people, the population of the district would have been increased by this time threefold, and its wealth probably tenfold; while, instead of the vagrant, dissipated, roystering, spendthrift population which the grossest neglect and misgovernment, on the part of the authorities, has called into existence, the eye of the traveller would have been delighted with the sight of smiling villages, with their churches and schools, and a contented, happy, and thriving population! What a powerful instrument, either for good or for evil, a government is!

I cannot approve, however, of Mr. Peppercorn's colonial nomenclature. As for *Casino*, it is a stupid, meaningless name, which was given to the neighbouring squatting station by its first owner, Mr. Stapylton, I believe. *Lismore* is a fine Gaelic name that can scarcely be objected to. But, to say nothing of *Codrington*, what on earth have we to do with such a commonplace English name as *Deptford* in Australia? Is there no beautiful native name to substitute in its stead? *

"I like the native names, as Parramatta,
And Illawarra and Woolloomoolloo,
Toongabbee, Mittagong, and Coolingatta,
And Yurumbon, and Coodgiegang, Meroo,
Euranarina, Jackwa, Bulkomatta,
Nandowra, Tumbarumba, Woogaroo;
The Wollondilly and the Wingycarribbee,
The Warragumby, Daby, and Bungarribbee."

I recollect the late Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, repeating this stanza of *ottava rima* one day after dinner at the house of a mutual friend near London, in the year 1837. I had strung it together in an article on Australian onomatology, or the art of giving names, which was published in

* Ballina, I believe, is the native name of this locality.

a colonial journal in the year 1835, and which had so greatly taken Sir Thomas's fancy that, to my agreeable surprise, he had got it by heart; adding, after he had repeated it, to the great edification and amusement of some non-colonial English gentlemen present, that he had instructed his surveyors to preserve the native names, wherever it was practicable to do so with propriety.

There is a vast extent of land of the first quality for cultivation on the Richmond River and its different arms and creeks. The only objection to the settlement of an agricultural population in the district is the character of the bar at the entrance of the river. But the country between the best portions of the Richmond and the Clarence River is a level country, and the distance is not more than 50 miles. There would, therefore, be no difficulty, as wealth and population increase, in the construction of a tramroad or wooden railway from the Richmond to Broad Water, an estuary of the Clarence, a few miles below Grafton; so as to bring the whole agricultural population of the Richmond within a moderate distance of eligible water carriage. This, for the cultivation of such an article as cotton, would be invaluable. Mr. Wilson, of Lismore, has given me a specimen of that product from plants in his garden, which had been six years in the ground and were cut down every winter. It is calculated that the plant or tree, which grows to the height of nine feet in this district, should be planted at the distance of six feet by six in the rows. This will render the cultivation remarkably simple.

30*th*.—Returned to Casino, or the Falls, from the North Arm by a different road from the one I had gone on the way out, the distance being about 18 miles. The South Arm, or main river, is navigable to within a few miles of Casino. The Falls, however, is the crossing place from Grafton towards the upper part of the river and Moreton Bay. It will, therefore, be always an important locality.

As I did not descend the Richmond River farther than Casino on the main river, and Lismore on the North Arm, I shall here insert a short extract from the journal of my esteemed friend and brother, the Rev. William Ridley, B.A., of the University of London, who, on a tour from Moreton Bay to the Richmond and

Clarence Rivers, to advocate the separation movement, in the month of December, 1857, went down the Richmond by water from Mr. Goodfellow's station at Tunstall, on Back Creek, a navigable tributary of the north branch of the river. The distance from that station by water to the Richmond Heads is ninety miles. Dr. Gunst, with whom Mr. Ridley made this voyage, is a Dutch gentleman, who had been a member of the defunct German Parliament of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and who is now in the practice of his profession at Grafton. On the 18th December, 1857, Mr. Ridley writes as follows:—

"From Tunstall I intended to ride to the Heads, a distance of thirty-five miles. But from the description given of the state of the swamps and creeks to be crossed by the way, it was plain that pulling a boat ninety miles round the course of the river to the Heads would be easier, safer, and even more expeditious than going with a horse overland the thirty-five miles; and by boating it, one visits many more houses. So that I was glad to accept the kind invitation of Dr. Gunst, who was just proceeding down the river on a professional journey, to take a seat in his boat.

"19*th*.—We left Tunstall about 7 A.M. The scenery on both sides of the Richmond is truly enchanting. Close to the water's edge rises a complete wall of luxuriant foliage; fig trees, bean trees, pines, and a variety of other trees, stand thickly set and overhung with a rich drapery of creepers, presenting the forms of turrets, buttresses, festoons, and stalactites, in endless variety, and bespangled with flowers and fruit. There is a purple convolvolus, wild roses, tulips, and some yellow flowers scattered high and low; and close to the water's edge a pure white lily. Cherries, figs, and mulberries overhang the water.

"The extensive brush land along the lower part of this river is more suitable for the culture of such produce as is expected at a future day to form the staple export of the district (cotton, sugar, maize, coffee, &c.), than the swamps higher up; and the ease with which any produce can be conveyed down by barges to shipping at the Heads will, of course, enhance the value of the land for such purposes. But the vast outlay necessary in the first instance for 'clearing' will probably postpone the occupation of the brush land until the most suitable swamps and plains have been brought into cultivation.

"The day we left Tunstall we rowed down, over forty miles, to the junction of the North Arm with the main channel of the river, and reached the house of Mr. Yabsley at 10 P.M. Mr. Yabsley, who many years ago acted as carpenter on board the Beagle, in her exploring cruise under Captain Wickham, has an extensive boat-building establishment here; and many a son 'makes his right arm stronger' in carrying on his business. After resting under his nospitable roof, we went down the river by 'London Bridge' (a dead tree hanging over the river somewhat like a broken arch) and Pimlico Island to Blackwall, about thirty-five miles below the junction. Here is the nucleus of a village, in a favourable and important position. Dr. Gunst's company was a very good introduction for me here, and wherever we called, as he stands high in public esteem for his medical skill and self-denying zeal in the discharge of his duties, and has a very decided opinion on the expediency of separation.

"21*st*.—Early next morning we came down the river, and calling at Emigrant Point, where there are five families, reached Deptford, the township at the Heads, at 1 P.M. There I preached under the shade of two large trees, and being invited by a Methodist family to their house, we had a devotional meeting in the evening."

To resume my own "Rough Notes:"—31*st* (Sunday).—Preached to a small congregation at Mr. Meanley's inn, and then rode on to Runnymede, the station of Alexander McKellar, Esq., J. P., to whom I had forwarded a notice the previous day, informing him that I should reach his place in the afternoon of the sabbath, and would celebrate Divine Service, if agreeable, to his family and servants in the evening. The distance is about twelve miles; and the intervening country, on the left bank of the Richmond, is in general well adapted for the settlement of a farming population. The scenery in particular spots along the route is interesting and beautiful. I reached Mr. McKellar's towards evening, and had a good and most attentive congregation; the hired servants and other working people on the station being all remarkably well dressed for the bush. Mr. McKellar had been in India, and his station exhibits not a few traits of Anglo-Indian civilisation, which are peculiarly acceptable so far in the bush.

Runnymede was originally the station of the late Mr. Ward

Stephen, of the "Sydney Herald." There is a melancholy memento of Mr. Stephen's residence there, in the burying-place of his son, who was mortally wounded in the arm from the accidental discharge of a pistol. The young man lies interred in the garden, his grave being surrounded with a wooden paling. Runnymede is finely situated on a knoll or rising ground overlooking a great extent of naturally clear land, apparently of the very best quality for cultivation, with a range of picturesque mountains in the distance. The garden, which is situated on the declivity of the knoll, is of the richest chocolate-coloured soil, and is in excellent keeping. The semi-tropical vegetation one sees in this district is always agreeable to the eye. The stately banana is to be seen everywhere—I mean wherever there has been any attention paid to gardening.

From a few miles above Casino, the course of the Richmond to the junction is nearly due east; above that point it is nearly due south. The road therefore turns to the right on leaving the Falls, and skirts along the left bank of the river in a northerly direction.

1*st September.*—Having been so fortunate as to meet at Casino with a gentleman who had a station in the Moreton Bay district, towards Ipswich, which he was intending to visit this week, I agreed to meet him at Mr. Wellington Bundock's station at Wairangry, twenty-five miles distant from the Falls, on Tuesday morning. Having therefore only about half that distance to ride from Runnymede, I did not start till the afternoon. Mr. McKellar gave me a note to his overseer at a cattle station he has rather more than half-way, desiring him to show me the way to Mr. Bundock's; but the overseer was not at home, and his wife assured me "I could not miss my way." But such assurances I have found, especially when townspeople happen to be the parties to whom they are made, extremely fallacious. I *did* miss my way, just when it was getting dark, taking a cattle-track, which went right on, instead of the turn-off to Mr. Bundock's; the track being very indistinct in the twilight. When I found I had fairly lost my way, I determined, if possible, to return to Mr. McKellar's cattle-station, and had accordingly to grope my way back in the darkness, for four or five long miles, which I managed to lengthen considerably with frequent deviations, reaching the cattle-station

about nine o'clock. The overseer's wife, who had somewhat underrated my abilities when she assured me *I could not miss my way*, received me very cordially, made me a cup of tea, and with the help of her daughter, a fine, healthy looking girl, whom she aroused from her first sleep for the purpose, prepared a comfortable couch for me in a detached building.

2nd.— Started early, and reached Wairangry an hour or two before my fellow-traveller made his appearance. The situation of Mr. Wellington Bundock's station is quite splendid. His house is situated on an elevated knoll overlooking a great extent of naturally clear land, apparently of the first quality for cultivation, with the river, which is here greatly diminished in size, meandering through it, and marking its course with a belt of trees, while a range of peaked mountains, that would form a magnificent panorama, rises in front. There is an extensive government reserve on both sides of the river in this locality; but as it is about thirty miles from water-carriage, it will be a long time before it will be required for the settlement of an agricultural population. There are few places in the colony, however, that will be better adapted for the purpose, when the proper time comes.

Mr. Bundock was not at home. *He was at Moreton Bay engaging servants.* This was rather an interesting piece of information for me in connection with the boundary question. All the relations of the inhabitants of this part of the country are with Moreton Bay, and not with Sydney; and it would, therefore, be perfectly ridiculous to bind them up with New South Wales,—a colony of which the capital is at so great a distance, while the natural centre of population, commerce, and government, to which they would otherwise point, is comparatively so close at hand.

There are three routes to Moreton Bay from the Richmond River district. The *first*, for the Lower Richmond, is along the beach, crossing the Tweed River and the Logan near their mouths. Mr. Fry, the late commissioner for the Clarence and Richmond district, whom I met with on the North Arm, informed me he had recently travelled by this route, and found it quite practicable; and there will, no doubt, be a road between the Lower Richmond and Brisbane by this line at no distant period. All it will require will be a bridge or two, and one or two ferries. But there will, doubtless, be a small steam-boat plying, ere long, from the mouth

of the Logan to Brisbane, inside the bay. This will render the coast-line a very easy one. The *second* is a bridle road, commencing a few miles from Mr. Bundock's, and stretching across the intervening country by Mount Warning. By this route Brisbane is only sixty miles distant from the Richmond, and there is every reason to believe that a road will be formed in this direction very shortly. It is decidedly the direct line, and there are no insurmountable or even formidable obstacles in the way. The *third*, or usual route, is by Mount Lindesay, which I am now to describe.

Started at noon. Our course lay up the valley of the Richmond, which we had to cross and recross repeatedly in the course of our ride. The principal feature of this day's journey is a series of beautiful flats, or plains of limited extent, each surrounded with an amphitheatre of hills, with the river flanked with tall trees, and occasionally with lofty cedars, stealing silently along in its deep bed. When the country gets settled with an agricultural population, each of these flats or plains will doubtless have its smiling cottage, farm-yard, and comfortable garden, where the pine-apple, the sugar-cane, and the banana, will be found in willing association with all the fruits of Northern Europe. For there is nothing more remarkable in this part of our colonial territory, than the way in which the fruits of the temperate and torrid zones grow harmoniously together in the same garden plat, and fructify and come to maturity each in its proper season.

We had done only about half our distance, when we had to encounter quite a storm of wind and rain, which very soon drenched us completely, and rendered certain portions of the road, especially at the crossings of deep gullies, which were rather of frequent occurrence on this part of our route, difficult and even dangerous. For as the rich soil is converted by the rain into a substance like soap, horses that are unaccustomed to such roads are extremely unwilling to attempt these difficult passes, and when they do they not unfrequently slide on all fours from the top to the bottom. It was evening and the shadows of night were falling fast around us ere we reached Ununga, the residence of James Glennie, Esq., the highest station on the Richmond; the distance from Wairangry being twenty miles.

3*rd*.—Mr. Glennie's station of Ununga is decidedly one of the

most picturesque and romantic I have seen in the colony. It is situated on a gentle slope in the now narrow valley of the Richmond, the hills or rather mountains to the right and left forming quite an amphitheatre; with Mount Lindesay, rising in the distance, in front, like a square turret, and reminding one of the famous Prussian rock fortress of Ehrenbreitstein on the Rhine, or of Dumbarton or Edinburgh Castle in Scotland.

Mr. Glennie was one of the earlier settlers on the Hunter, where he had at one time a valuable property, which he was unfortunately obliged to sacrifice during the bad times of a former era, from having too generously become security for a near relative who had been seized, like many others at the time, with the *mania* of speculation. Like a brave man, however, Mr. Glennie did not give himself up to unavailing despondency; but, immediately gathering up the wreck of his fortune, he buried himself, like another Daniel Boon, in the northern wilderness, "far from the haunts of prying men." There, his sheep and cattle having meanwhile rapidly increased around him, like those of the old patriarchs, the advancing wave of civilisation has now well nigh reached him again, and he is now on the great road to the north. Mr. Glennie's station is actually within seventy-five miles of Ipswich, in Moreton Bay, and he gets all his supplies from that quarter. How preposterous then would it not be to bind him up, as a dweller on the Richmond, in the same colony with Sydney, from which he is distant, by the nearest practicable route, overland, at least seven hundred miles!

Started again after breakfast. The grand feature in this day's ride is Mount Lindesay, which the road sweeps round, not on its western side, as I had anticipated, but on its eastern, between it and the ocean. Mount Lindesay was discovered, and named, in honour of Patrick Lindesay, Esq., Colonel of the 39th Regiment, which was then stationed in the colony, by the late Allan Cunningham, Esq., Botanical Collector for the Royal Gardens at Kew, who, in handing in his subscription for the erection of the Scots Church in Sydney, in the year 1823, signed himself "An Englishman of Scottish extraction." Mount Lindesay is 5700 feet high. It rises exactly like a square tower, with sides apparently quite precipitous. The aborigines of this part of the country allege that two black fellows once ascended to its summit, by means of the

numerous wild vines that were then growing on its steep sides. But a great bush fire on the mountain having subsequently destroyed all this vegetation, the summit has ever since been inaccessible to mortals. Mount Lindesay is a detached mountain, standing alone and unconnected with any particular range; but there are several others a few miles distant to the northward, of the same domitic character, that must be at least 4000 feet in height, Mount Lindesay, like Saul among the people, overtopping them all by the head and shoulders. This highly picturesque mountain gives rise to not fewer than three of our Australian rivers. We had now followed up the main branch of the Richmond to its dark defiles; but a mere spur of the mountain separates the head waters of that river from those of the Clarence, which also rises in Mount Lindesay, pursuing a more southerly and much longer course. And at a short distance, on its northern side, rises the Logan River, which falls into Moreton Bay. The scenery, in skirting along the base of Mount Lindesay, is exceedingly interesting and romantic; the country being an open forest, well grassed, and presenting occasional tracts of highly improvable land, which will, doubtless, in due time be subjected to the plough. We took advantage of one of these tracts to give our horses an hour's feed and a rest, before descending into the valley of the Logan, where the feed was much scantier from the vicinity of a cattle station, and where much of the grass had been recently burnt.

At twenty miles from Ununga we halted again for a short time at a cattle station belonging to Mr. Carden Collins, a son-in-law of Mr. Glennie's. It was in charge of Mr. Preiss, a Hungarian refugee, who had been a major in Kossuth's army of independence, but is now as contented as possible, riding after cattle in the bush in Australia. Mr. Preiss had been a great traveller, and is a most intelligent and interesting man; and the cheerful way in which he accommodates himself to his present humble but honest occupation does him the greatest honour. I wish, however, he had either been better acquainted with Australian geography, or had an apter pupil than myself, when he persuaded my fellow-traveller and myself that the distance from that particular point to Brisbane, to which I was bound, was as short as to Ipswich. I had strong misgivings on the subject myself, when

about to separate from my fellow-traveller and guide for the last two days, who was going in the direction of Ipswich; but, like the overseer's wife on the Richmond, both he and Mr. Preiss unfortunately underrated my abilities, when they fancied "I could not miss my way."

On taking leave of my fellow-traveller, Mr. Barnes, after a ride of twenty miles from Mr. Glennie's station of Ununga, on the Upper Richmond, Mr. Preiss very kindly accompanied me on horseback about five miles on my solitary route to Brisbane; crossing the Logan River, which is here a considerable stream, with high and boggy banks, twice in that part of our course, and giving me to understand, on taking leave, that I should have to cross it a third time at a ford to which the track would lead me. But it was then getting towards evening, and my horse, from his long journey from Grafton, and his scanty fare on the Richmond, where the grass from the long prevalence of dry weather, was very indifferent, began to exhibit unmistakable signs of fatigue and exhaustion. Presently it got dark, and I found I had insensibly lost the track to the proper crossing-place of the river: although I succeeded in crossing it at some distance farther down. But as I could find no track on the other side, I was obliged, after wandering about for some time, to encamp for the night, by sitting down on a fallen tree, and occasionally walking about, to keep myself warm, in the dark forest. In the course of the evening I heard a dog barking in the distance, and fixing upon a star in the direction from which the sound proceeded, I trudged on, leading my horse in that direction for a considerable distance over height and hollow. This brought me at length upon what I considered a beaten track once more, and conceiving that it would be better to pursue that track than to follow the dog-star, I immediately changed my course, and pursued my way with increased energy. But, unfortunately, there is nothing so fallacious in the bush as such tracks. Like colonial enterprises generally, they commence with great promise, and you trace them for a time with great hope; but they speedily end in nothing. So it was with this track, and I was therefore obliged, for the second time, to select the softest log I could find for my sofa during the long, dreary, bitter-cold night, as I had no lucifer matches, and was afraid to go to sleep lest my horse should disappear in the darkness.

4th.—The morning dawned at length, and I mounted again. I soon made the Logan once more, and as I had been directed to keep it on the right, I pursued my course accordingly. The Logan River is remarkably circuitous, describing a whole series of figures like the letter S; and by adhering too literally to my instructions I found myself repeatedly following it in these convolutions; emerging, after a long walk or ride, at a point very little in advance of the one from which I had struck off a considerable time before. Getting at length into an impracticable country towards the river, I concluded that the track must be considerably towards the left. Striking off, therefore, in that direction, and crossing two or three steep stony ridges, with long gullies intervening, without a drop of water, of which I was now in anxious search, I came upon the beaten track at last, which brought me in an hour, or thereby, to the station of a Mr. Haly, an extensive squatter on the Logan, where I was received very kindly by Mrs. Haly, whose husband happened to be from home.

The Logan River was discovered by Captain Logan, of the 57th Regiment, whose name it bears. Captain Logan was commandant at Moreton Bay, during the administration of General Darling. He was a native of Scotland, and had been a member of my congregation while he resided in Sydney. Taking great interest in the development of the resources of the country, he was in the habit of making frequent excursions into the bush, and in one of these he was unfortunately beset by a party of the black natives, who were then very troublesome, and speared; his dead body, which was found by the soldiers, revealing at length the melancholy story of his fate.

A stanza of a Scotch song, which I had learned when a boy, naturally recurred to my recollection on the banks of the Logan :—

> "Logan Water! sae clear an' deep,
> Whar' aften I hae herded sheep;
> Herded sheep an' gathered slaes,
> Wi' my dear lad on Logan braes!"

My own recollections of the Logan Water in Australia are anything but poetical—overtaken by night with a jaded horse, losing the track, crossing the river in the darkness, and bivouacking all night in the gloomy forest, without fire, food, or water! But there are points of identity, notwithstanding, between the

Australian river and its Scotch prototype. In both cases the water is clear and deep, and the neighbouring country in both cases also is used for the same purposes; for I found two Chinamen in charge of a sheep station on the banks of the Australian stream. Learning afterwards that the name of one of these gentle Mongolians was Keong, I recognised in him a native of the Flowery Land whom I had joined in matrimony in Sydney, about a year before, previous to his going to Moreton Bay, to an Irish female immigrant, of the very classical name of Hoolahan. The latter could only make her mark on the interesting occasion, and I was left to blush inwardly, doubtless in sympathy with her husband, for the "outside barbarian;" but Keong, a smart young man, respectably attired in the European style, inscribed his name in the register, in Chinese characters, with the air of a person who had been "used to it." Of course, Bridget Hoolahan can now realise the Arcadian scene of the Scottish pastoral.

"Herdin' sheep, an' gatherin' slaes,
Wi' her dear lad (the Chinaman) on Logan braes!"

As I was anxious to reach Brisbane towards the close of the week, I started again in the afternoon for Mr. Vaughan's station, which, I was told, was in that direction, distant fifteen miles. There were three landmarks on the road, of which I had previously ascertained the respective distances—a deep gully to cross, then a steep ridge, and then another gully. I had passed all the three, and was felicitating myself beforehand on my speedy arrival at Mr. Vaughan's station, when all at once I found I had lost the track again. My horse had been too tired to do more than walk; the night had fallen again, and the bright moon, which was now casting her undistinguishing glare on the whole sublunary world, rendering the bush track still more indistinct than it was by daylight, I completely lost my way; for it is much more difficult to keep a bush track by moonlight than even by the light of the stars. After pacing to and fro for a short time without recovering the track, I resolved to encamp at once for the night, lest I should wander too far from it to find it again in the daylight. Having been suitably refreshed at Mrs. Haly's during the previous day, I found my second night's encampment in the bush much less uncomfortable than the first; and using my saddle as a pillow, and

my saddle-cloth as a covering, I got a few snatches of sleep before the dawn, although it was bitter cold during the night. I was not quite alone, however, on this occasion. In the tall gum-tree, at the foot of which I had placed my saddle, an opossum and his family occupied the first floor. The opossum, it seems, is rather aristocratic in his habits. He had apparently been out at a party in the evening. At all events he did not come home till about two in the morning. Of course he could not condescend to take any notice of a vulgar plebeian and demagogue like myself, lying like a gipsy upon the bare ground in the area. He therefore mounted the tree to his family mansion with all the *nonchalance* imaginable, and I had to pocket the affront as I best could.*

5th.—Up and on horseback with the dawn, and soon recovered the track which I had lost the evening before, and which I found so indistinct in this part of the route, that I was thankful I had lost it where I did, as if I had gone on in the deceitful moonlight, I might have lost it irrecoverably. The country through which I had been passing was good grazing country, well grassed, and remarkably well watered with chains of ponds. I reached Mr. Vaughan's station to breakfast.

From thence to the station of Mr. Cameron—one of the sons of an old Scotch colonist of General Darling's time, who had got a grant of 1280 acres of land on the Hunter, and had often been under my roof in Sydney—the distance was only eight miles. I was accompanied the greater part of this distance by Mr. Wilkes, the superintendent of a station on the Logan, who very kindly went a few miles out of his own way to guide me on mine. Close to Mr. Vaughan's station we passed a lagoon of a perfectly circular form, and very deep, which Mr. Wilkes informed me was the one in which the famous bunyip, of the aboriginal mythology, had been seen. From its great resemblance to lagoons of the same form I had seen in Port Phillip, of which there could be no doubt as to the origin, I am strongly of opinion that this lagoon is the crater of an extinct volcano. I found Mr. Cameron (from whom, as well as from his wife, the daughter of one of my emigrants at Moreton Bay, I experienced

* The opossum feeds at night, and lives in the natural hollows of lofty trees. I was awaked out of a short nap by the rustling overhead.

a very cordial reception) in the midst of his sheep-shearing. Mr. Cameron is an extensive squatter, with flocks and herds of patriarchal numbers. I offered to perform Divine service during my stay, which being gladly accepted, I had rather a good congregation for the bush, in the evening, consisting of Mr. Cameron's family and servants, and the sheep-shearers on the station. It is much to be regretted that such services are not more frequent in the bush than they are. At all events, I have uniformly found them acceptable.

There is only a very limited extent of eligible land for agriculture on the upper part of the Logan. Towards its mouth, however, as well as on the Albert River, which joins it from Mount Warning to the southward, and on the Teviot brook, which falls into it to the northward, there is a large extent of first-rate land altogether. All this part of the country, however, although at present almost beyond the pale of civilisation, will be very soon opened up, and thickly settled by means of steam communication with and from Brisbane, whenever Moreton Bay is erected into a separate colony. At present, with a government five hundred miles off, and evidently caring nothing for their interests or welfare, the people have no spirit to do anything in the way of availing themselves of the extraordinary capabilities of the country. These will be developed very speedily, and to a wonderful extent, under a more rational system.

6th.—Two gentlemen from Brisbane had come out, on business, to Mr. Cameron's, in the afternoon of the day of my arrival there, intending to return thither on horseback the following day; the distance being about forty miles. Fearing that my horse would not be able to keep up with them, as he was now rather exhausted from his long previous journey, I started at eight in the morning, to reach a rendezvous which had been described to me about half-way, that he might be rested and refreshed for the remainder of the route by the time my intending fellow-travellers should come up, as they were not to start till eleven o'clock. Unfortunately, however, I never reached the rendezvous. I had lost the proper track at a deserted sheep station, about fourteen miles from Mr. Cameron's, and after wandering about for some time to no purpose, I got upon another track, which I felt sure, from its direction, would lead

to Ipswich and not to Brisbane. I determined, however, to pursue it at all hazards, rather than run the risk of losing myself in the bush again. It was towards evening when my suspicions were confirmed by finding myself at a sheep station on Woogaroo Creek, nine miles from Ipswich. I reached Ipswich at eight in the evening, leading my wearied horse for several miles of the way.

7th. Sunday.—Preached in the evening in the Presbyterian Church, Ipswich.

8th.—Left Ipswich for Brisbane—twenty-five miles—in the afternoon; supposing that my horse would be sufficiently recovered from his fatigue for such a journey. For the first ten or twelve miles he did pretty well, but I was then obliged to dismount and lead him, which I did for about eight miles farther; being overtaken on this part of my journey by two travellers on horseback, who were also going to Brisbane, but whose horses being almost as tired as mine, they also dismounted, and we led our horses in company in the clear moonlight for several miles. The cavalry being thus relieved and refreshed, we mounted again, and reached South Brisbane, where I put up for the night at Souter's Hotel, at ten o'clock.

Mr. Souter gave me a very cordial welcome, and expressed himself much gratified at my having taken up my abode for the night under his roof. He told me at the same time that it had been two lectures which I had delivered on Australia in the Trades' Hall in Glasgow, in the year 1849, that had induced him to come out to it. He was a sawyer at the time with a wife and two children; and work being unusually slack, his employer was only able to give him employment for three or four days in the fortnight. On applying to the government agent for immigration in Glasgow, he ascertained that it would be necessary for him to raise three pounds ere he could obtain a passage out for his family, and in his actual circumstances at the time this was a matter of serious difficulty. He managed, however, to raise the amount at length, and he accordingly arrived in Sydney with his family in the year 1850. The immigration agent in Sydney at the time offering him a free passage to Moreton Bay, where he was told he might do better for himself, he accepted the offer; and on his landing at the wharf at

Brisbane, all the money he had in the world was one crooked sixpence, which he still retained—and would leave, as he told me, as an interesting memorial of his colonial history to his children. The first employment he obtained at Brisbane was at a quarry, where he got only four shillings a day. But after working a short time in this way, he found a mate with whom he went to work thereafter on his own account, and at his own business, as a sawyer; and he assured me that for a whole twelvemonth that they had wrought together in one spot he had never lost a single hour from any cause whatever. Their earnings during that period averaged £7 5s. each per week. In the mean time his wife worked as a laundress in the house of which she was now landlady, and received three shillings a day for her services. He had now 150 head of cattle, and a property in South Brisbane worth several hundred pounds, and the furniture of the respectable hotel he now keeps is his also. These "short and simple annals" of the prosperity of families and individuals of the humbler walks of life in these colonies have always, I confess, been peculiarly gratifying to me; and when one has been in any way instrumental in bringing about such prosperity, the gratification is only enhanced. Of course I had no bill to pay at Mr. Souter's. But this was by no means a solitary case of the kind on my overland journey. On five other occasions that I had stopped at inns and houses of accommodation for travellers, from the time I had landed at the Clarence River, I was told that I had nothing to pay. The mere saving of expense which this implied was a very minor consideration; but the kindly feeling it evinced, and the expressions of cordiality with which it was always announced, were very gratifying. I confess, I am not one of those travellers who can travel "from Dan to Beersheba," either in the physical or in the moral world, "and find it all barren."

9th.—Crossed over to North Brisbane, where I was domiciled during my stay in the hospitable residence of Mr. James Swan, proprietor and publisher of the "Moreton Bay Courier." Mr. Swan had come out with me from Scotland, as a compositor, in the year 1837, to assist in the establishment of a weekly journal in Sydney, the "Colonial Observer," which was generally allowed to have done good service to the State, in various ways,

during the brief period of its existence. In the year 1846, shortly after my first visit to Moreton Bay, Mr. Swan, who had in the mean time endeavoured, although rather unsuccessfully, to establish himself as a farmer on land he had purchased at Illawarra, consulted me as to the propriety of his going to Brisbane to conduct the mechanical department of a paper which it was then proposed to establish in that locality. I strongly advised him to accept of the offer, as I felt assured at the time that the place presented a very fair prospect in his line. He took my advice, and having subsequently become sole proprietor of the paper, which, I am happy to say, he has uniformly conducted with ability, both mechanically and otherwise, he has thereby won for himself a prominent and influential position in the district, as one of the nabobs of the capital of the future colony of Moreton Bay.

17*th*.—Embarked at Brisbane on board the noble steamship Yarra Yarra, Captain Bell, with whom I had sailed fifteen years ago, when he commanded the steamer Corsair, which then plied between Melbourne and Launceston, and of whose superior nautical ability on that trying occasion, as well as of his kind attention, I have still a lively recollection; arriving in Sydney, after a remarkably quick and pleasant passage of about fifty hours, in the afternoon of the 19th September.

CHAP. III.

THE BRISBANE RIVER AND THE MORETON BAY COUNTRY TO THE EASTWARD OF THE COAST RANGE.

THE Brisbane River which, I have already observed, disembogues in Moreton Bay, was discovered by the late John Oxley, Esq., Surveyor-General of New South Wales, on the 2nd December, 1823*; and a penal settlement was shortly thereafter formed on its banks, which subsisted till transportation to New South Wales entirely ceased, and the district was thrown open for the settlement of free emigrants in the year 1841.

One should have thought that the existence of a penal settlement, numbering for a time considerably upwards of a thousand men, would have left many useful memorials of itself in the shape of roads and bridges and public buildings at Moreton Bay, constructed in anticipation of the future settlement of the country by a community of freemen. But besides a few rickety buildings which were all but tumbling down, there was scarcely anything to show in the way of permanent improvement when the penal

* It had in reality been discovered some time before by two shipwrecked mariners, Pamphlet and Finnegan, from Sydney, who very opportunely gave Mr. Oxley the important information, when he was lying at anchor—in the course of an expedition to the northward, in search of a proper site for a new penal settlement—in Captain Flinders's former anchorage at the northern extremity of Moreton Bay. This is obvious enough from the following extract from the narrative of the late Mr. Uniacke, who accompanied Mr. Oxley on the occasion:—

"*Both he* (Finnegan) *and Pamphlet concurring in a story they told us of a* LARGE RIVER *which they had crossed, falling into the south end of the bay,* Messrs. Oxley and Stirling started next morning in the whale-boat, taking Finnegan with them, and four days' provisions, in order to explore it."—*Narrative of Mr. Oxley's Expedition to survey Port Curtis, &c., by John Uniacke, Esq., contained in Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales. By various hands. Edited by* Barron Field, Esq., late Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales. London, 1825.

settlement was finally broken up. Indeed, the expenditure of labour, which might otherwise have proved exceedingly valuable to the future population, on objects of no conceivable value or importance, appears to have been the regular order of the day during the existence of the penal settlement at Moreton Bay:—of this let the three following instances suffice as proofs.

1. The overseers had a small allowance for every acre of land cleared by the convicts under their superintendence. To render this source of revenue more productive, it was only necessary to select thinly timbered land, without reference to its quality; and accordingly Moreton Island, a mere collection of sand-hills, of no use whatever for cultivation, and but thinly covered with cypress pine trees, was *cleared* by the convicts. The timber, which would now have been very valuable for ornamental furniture, was in the mean time destroyed.

2. A wharf or jetty for lading and unlading vessels was constructed at considerable expense, at least of convict labour, towards the mouth of the Brisbane River, on the government establishment of Eagle Farm; but after it was completed it was discovered that there was a mud-flat or sand-bank between the wharf and the deep water which effectually prevented any vessel from getting up to it.

3. A swamp on the Brisbane River, near Brisbane, was drained at a very considerable expense, under the idea that it would be well adapted for the growth of rice, and the superintendent had it sown accordingly; but instead of sowing the grain in its natural state of *paddy*, it was sown in its manufactured state of rice, procured for the purpose from a merchant's store in Sydney! It was much the same as if an English farmer had sown his field with pearl barley. Of course the settlement was pronounced unsuited for the cultivation of rice!

There is no natural harbour for ships of a great draught of water in Moreton Bay; and a bar off the mouth of the Brisbane, and flats in the lower part of its course, prevent large vessels from entering the river. But practical men of experience in the place have ascertained that these obstacles may be easily removed, and the river deepened sufficiently for the largest vessels; and, accordingly, one of the first acts of the parliament of Queensland was to vote ten thousand pounds for the purchase

of a steam-dredge for this special service, while two thousand pounds was voted for immediate improvements on the Brisbane and Bremer Rivers. The deposit to be cleared away by the dredge is, it seems, neither sand nor mud, but a species of marl that forms a sort of concrete and will not accumulate again; and it is therefore confidently expected that when this great public object, the opening of a practicable channel across the flats and the bar, is once effected, it will be kept permanently clear by the currents of the river and the ocean-tides. In that event the Brisbane River will thenceforth form a harbour of superior character for sailing vessels of the largest size; there being miles of natural wharfage both above and below the city on both sides of the river.

The character and scenery of the Brisbane River are pretty similar to those of the Clarence, although on a somewhat smaller scale. There happened to be an unusually high tide the first time I crossed the bay, in November, 1845; and in many places, as we steamed along in the deep-water channel, I was not a little astonished at first, till a moment's reflection served to explain the phenomenon, at observing one or two solitary mangrove trees growing, as it were, out of the sea, to the right and left. But the places where these trees were growing were mere mud-banks, very seldom under water.

From the same cause the Brisbane River is evidently pushing forward its banks into the bay, and forming additional dry land on either shore for future generations; the lower part of its course, for six or eight miles from its entrance, being lined on either side with a forest of gloomy mangroves, exhibiting, amid their cheerless vegetation,

> "Water, water everywhere,
> But not a drop to drink!"

Above the region of the mangroves, the soil and scenery on the banks of the Brisbane rapidly improve; and as we approach the city, fifteen miles from its mouth, there are spots of surpassing beauty on both sides of the stream, most of which, however, have already been appropriated by colonists of taste and enterprise; neat cottages, with gardens abounding in all the productions of the temperate, as well as in most of those of the torrid zone, crowning the picturesque heights along the river, which at one

time appears contracted to a comparatively narrow stream, within steep and rocky banks, and at another expands into a broad sheet of glassy water, exhibiting all the romantic beauty of a Highland or Swiss lake.

Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, is beautifully situated on an elbow of the river, on its left or northern bank. The river is there very nearly a quarter of a mile broad, a breadth which it preserves for many miles farther up. At thirty-six miles from Brisbane, it is joined by the Bremer from the westward, and the daily steamers from Brisbane ascend the latter river to the head of the navigation; the main stream, which is navigable for boats for a hundred and fifty miles from the bay, having a southerly direction in the higher part of its course, as it takes its rise in a ridge of mountains stretching from the coast range to the ocean, and dividing the waters that flow into Moreton Bay from those of Wide Bay, to the northward. The Bremer River is navigable for fourteen miles from the junction; the town of Ipswich, the second town in the colony, being situated at the head of the navigation on the great road to the west.

At the eastern extremity of the base of the triangle on which the city of Brisbane is built, and on the opposite side of the river, there is a subsidiary town or suburb, called Kangaroo Point; and at its western extremity, also on the opposite side, is situated the subsidiary town or suburb of South Brisbane, about a mile from the point. Government House, which is now erecting, and the Botanic Garden, a most interesting and agreeable retreat for the inhabitants of Brisbane, occupy the apex of the triangle in quite a magnificent situation. Nearly a mile to the eastward there is a third subsidiary town or suburb of Brisbane, called Fortitude Valley,—from the name of a vessel that carried out at my instance a pretty numerous detachment of reputable free emigrants to Moreton Bay in the year 1849; and on a terrace to the northward of the city, and overlooking its whole extent, as well as the course of the river, there is a line of detached and private residences starting up, belonging to the principal inhabitants, and occupying respectively the most commanding situations. The whole population of Brisbane, including the three suburbs, must now be nearly, if not quite seven thousand.

The view from the Windmill Hill, near Brisbane, in the line

of the terrace to which I have just alluded, is one of the finest I have seen in Australia. Lofty mountain ranges in the distance shut in the scene to the northward and westward and southward, while detached hills of various elevations are scattered over the intervening country in all directions. The noble river, which winds almost under foot, and appears and disappears, and appears again as it pursues its tortuous course through the dark forest to the bay, or is traced upwards towards its sources, presents ever and anon points of view surpassingly beautiful; the thick brushes on its banks, with the majestic Moreton Bay pine, overtopping all the other giants of the forest, merely indicating the spots of extraordinary fertility where the hand of man is perhaps erecting his future dwelling, and transforming the wilderness into smiling farms and fruitful fields. As yet, indeed, man can scarcely be said to have done more than just begin to invade the vast wilderness of this portion of the Australian territory, and his works appear diminutive in the extreme when thus contrasted with the grandeur and sublimity of nature—with the dark green mantle of her loneliness wrapped around her. In short, there is no place I have ever seen in all our Australian colonies, with the single exception of Sydney, in which there is a greater number of interesting and beautiful sites for villas than there is in the neighbourhood of Brisbane.

The city of Brisbane has been incorporated, and has now a mayor and aldermen; and much credit is due to these respectable colonial functionaries for the improvements they have already effected on the highways and byeways of their colonial capital. As yet there is but little to be said for the architecture of the rising city, although there are private residences in and around it that would not discredit any town in England, while shops are starting up in the line of Queen Street, the principal street of the city,—forming, as it does, the base of the triangle on which it is built—that would not be out of place in New Bond Street, London.

All the principal religious denominations of the mother-country have their respective adherents and representatives in Brisbane. There is an Anglican bishop resident in the city,—with one or two places of worship for Protestant Episcopalians. There are also churches and chapels for the Presbyterians of the city and neighbourhood, for the Independents, the Baptists, and the Wesleyan

Methodists, respectively. These ecclesiastical buildings are of a creditable and substantial character, although, perhaps, making little pretensions to architectural beauty. There is also a Roman Catholic church in Brisbane; and the German Lutherans have had regular service by a minister of their own country and communion for some time past. I am happy to be enabled to add that, in my humble opinion, the Sabbath is as well observed in Brisbane as in any English town of equal population.

There is a national school, also, which I visited, apparently under very efficient management.

There are two newspapers, besides the Government Gazette, published in Brisbane—the "Moreton Bay Courier" and the "Queensland Guardian;" the former published thrice and the latter twice a week. They have both occasionally exhibited superior ability.

The Bank of New South Wales, the Bank of Australasia, the Union Bank of Australia, and the Australian Joint Stock Bank, all of which have their respective head-quarters in Sydney, have branches in Brisbane; and there is also the Moreton Bay Savings Bank, the governor and colonial secretary being the president and vice-president for the time being.

There is also a school of arts in Brisbane, with a library and reading-room, a club-house, an exchange-room, and an hospital; and a large goal has just been completed outside the city.

Perhaps there is no establishment connected with mechanics and trade in Brisbane more interesting, considering the place and its prospects, than the steam saw-mill of Mr. William Pettigrew; combining, as it does, all the recent improvements in that department of mechanics, and conducted, as it evidently is, by its spirited proprietor, with great mechanical ability.

The number of births, marriages, and deaths registered at Brisbane for the year commencing 1st October, 1858, and ending 30th September, 1859—for the statistics for this department of the year following were not published when I left the colony—was as follows:—

Births, 378; of which 199 were males, and 179 females.
Marriages, 69.
Deaths, 110, consisting of 70 males and 40 females.

The trade returns for the port of Brisbane, with lists of exports and imports, will be found in Appendix B.

There is a steamboat every week both to and from Sydney; and steam communication is also maintained regularly between the capital and the northern ports—Wide Bay, Port Curtis, and Rockhampton. There is a steamboat, also, to and from Ipswich every lawful day; the distance being fifty miles, which is usually traversed in about five hours.

There were two questions relating to Brisbane, agitated with considerable vehemence for a series of years past, but now nearly, if not entirely, set at rest. The first was whether Brisbane was the proper place for the capital of the colony. As it is at present within sixty miles of its southern boundary, it was alleged by the residents of the different settlements to the northward, that the capital ought either to be at Wide Bay, or at Port Curtis or Rockhampton. But if the Clarence district is to be annexed to Queensland, as I am confident it must be sooner or later, Brisbane will not only be the only proper capital of the colony, but there will also be the strongest reason for fixing the northern boundary at Sir Thomas Mitchell's dividing line, the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude; for Brisbane will then be exactly in the centre of the coast-line.

The other question was, whether Brisbane was the proper shipping port for the Moreton Bay district. Certain of the squatters, whose importance, as an integral portion of the community, may be inferred from the large proportion which their exports of wool, tallow, hides, bones and horns, still bear to those of the colony generally, as exhibited in the trade returns, insisted very strenuously that Cleveland Point, to the southward of the entrance of the Brisbane River, was a much fitter place for such a purpose than Brisbane; and as it was proposed, by way of anodyne, to construct a tramroad from Cleveland Point to Ipswich, so as to leave out Brisbane altogether from the course of the inland trade of the district, the people of Ipswich, who were more directly under the influence of the squatters, and who had all those feelings of rivalry towards their fellow-colonists of the capital that uniformly characterise the inhabitants of different trading ports, especially when they come into competition with each other, threw the whole weight of their influence into the squatters' scale.

There was, no doubt, a strong political feeling in the case on the part of the squatters. They were the veritable aristocracy of the colony — the Abrahams, Isaacs, and Jacobs of the country, at least in the amount of their pastoral stock, to say nothing at all of their piety — and from certain points of mutual attraction they were mostly of that political party known both at home and abroad, as Conservatives or Obstructionists. The people of Brisbane were, on the contrary, mere plebeians — "shopkeepers, mechanics, and all that sort o' thing;" and they had given mortal offence to the aristocracy, by not only preventing them from getting whole shiploads of cheap convict-labour from the prisons of England for their flocks and herds, but by advocating those hated institutions that were sure to ruin the country,— manhood suffrage and the ballot. One of these gentlemen, Mr. Bigge, a wealthy squatter, had, at one time, it was said, expended not less than seven thousand pounds, while other members of the corps had ventured smaller amounts, in the laudable endeavour to blot out Brisbane from the annals of trade in Moreton Bay.

I had the honour, at the time when this controversy was in progress, to be one of the two candidates — the successful one, I may add — for the representation of the county of Stanley, Moreton Bay, in the late Legislative Council of New South Wales; and I took the opportunity of a visit I had paid to Brisbane, to ride over with a few friends to Cleveland Point, to satisfy myself as to which party was right in this matter of local interest. On my return to Brisbane, I addressed the following letter to the "Moreton Bay Courier," which, as it gives the only description I have to offer of an interesting part of the country, I shall take the liberty to insert as follows:—

"CLEVELAND POINT.

"(*To the Editor of the Moreton Bay Courier.*)

"SIR,—Having been one of a small party who made an excursion to the township of Cleveland during the present week, I beg to trouble you, for the information of some at least of your readers, with a few observations on that locality, *first*, as the site of a town, and *secondly*, as a rival shipping port to Brisbane and Ipswich.

"I have no hesitation, therefore, in acknowledging that the impression produced upon my mind by the view of Cleveland Point and its vicinity was decidedly favourable. The locality is not only well chosen as the site of a town, but is highly interesting and romantic; its principal feature being a point of land considerably above the water level, projecting into the bay, and shooting out into its waters a long narrow spit of land, like the bony projection from the head of the fish called the snapper. This spit of land has evidently been a reef of rocks on which the soil has accumulated on both sides in the course of ages, from the washings up of the sea in northerly and southerly gales, the direction of the spit being east and west; and it is equally evident that at no distant period it has been one of the numerous islands in the bay, the narrow neck that joins it to the mainland being scarcely elevated above high-water mark. From the point already mentioned, as well as from the narrow spit, the view is singularly beautiful: the numerous islands and lightly wooded shelving shores of the bay, with Moreton Island and the Glasshouses in the distance to the northward, forming a picture on which the eye delights to rest. To the southward, the channel between Stradbroke Island and the mainland reminded me of Long Island Sound in the bay of New York, although it is considerably wider than that narrow sound. And one can scarcely gaze on such a scene without anticipating the time when a numerous agricultural population will be settled all along the shores of the bay, and numerous steamboats will be paddling along the now silent waters of this inland sea, and maintaining a perpetual intercourse between the small towns and villages on its shores and the capital of the province.

"There is much good land along the shores of the bay; and as the principal object of my visit was to ascertain the general capabilities of this part of the country for the settlement of an agricultural population, with a view particularly to the cultivation of cotton, I was gratified to find that my anticipations were much more than realised. Besides the land at present available for agriculture around the bay, there is a vast extent of land in all parts of it in process of formation, from the gradual deposits of sand and mud from the waters of the bay in the numerous mangrove swamps that line the coast in all directions; and there

is also much land originally of the same character, now permanently abandoned by the sea, but still so strongly impregnated with saline matter as to be utterly useless at present either for man or beast. Now, it is precisely this description of soil — land on the sea-coast and strongly saturated with salt — that the cotton plant chiefly affects, and that produces the finest description of cotton. And I have no doubt whatever, that when this species of cultivation becomes general and extensive, as it is sure to do in a few years hence at farthest, in this district, the salt marshes along the shores of the bay will be in great requisition, and a numerous agricultural population, cultivating the cotton plant, and exporting the produce in as large quantities as the present export of wool, will be settled all along the bay. For such a population — in the southern portion of the bay — a town on Cleveland Point, will be indispensably necessary, and such a town will accordingly grow up with the surrounding population as a matter of course. The proprietors of allotments in this township may therefore rest assured that they will come into use and prove valuable at no distant day.

"But to force up a town into premature existence, like a hot-house plant, in any locality whatever, when there is no country population within a moderate distance either to require or to support it, is the grandest absurdity imaginable. But this is precisely what has been attempted at Cleveland, and it only shows with how little wisdom the squatting world, including although it does the veritable aristocracy of the country, is governed. The first indication of civilisation and refinement, in approaching the township of Cleveland, is a brickfield, belonging to a practical brickmaker, who it seems has hitherto supplied all the *matériel* of that kind required for the construction of the city of Cleveland; and it is worth mentioning, for the comfort of all who are in any way interested in the stability and permanence of the future city, that the bricks made in that locality are of a very superior quality, and are worth at least a pound a thousand more than those made in certain other localities. At some distance from Mr. Maskell's brickfield (the intervening line of bush-road leading through a beautifully wooded and richly grassed country, that might almost be mistaken for the vicinity of a ducal palace in the old country), appears the first house in the town of Cleveland. It is an eight-

roomed, substantial, commodious, brick-built, verandah cottage, with all the requisite appurtenances of a kitchen, and other out-buildings, on a much lower level towards the bay; the cottage itself being situated on the elevated point of land already mentioned, and commanding a beautiful view of the bay with its fine scenery all round. But—

"'Every leaf was at rest, and I heard not a sound'

from the uninhabited mansion. It looked like one of those haunted houses that one sometimes sees in England, and that nobody will occupy for fear of 'the ghost;' and when we reflected that it would probably cost from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* to erect such a cottage, with all its appendages, in Sydney, and that it would rent, if there, at 200*l.* a year, our party named it 'Bigge's Folly,' and rode on. At short distances towards the Point, we passed two other substantial brick cottages, each intended for two or more families, but both uninhabited like number one. We then crossed the low neck that joins the narrow spit to the mainland, and rode onward to the jetty, where we found a whole suite of buildings for the future town, including a well-built, substantial, capacious store, to which, as it was quite empty, our party gave the name of 'Bigge's Vacuum.' Before the era of the Italian Torricelli, European philosophers used to tell us that 'Nature abhorred a vacuum;' but here was a proof of the contrary, the capacious store at Cleveland Point being 'a perfect vacuum.' It was not very kind, however, in our friend Mr. —— when contemplating this uninhabited town (which really reminded one of the enchanted city in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments), to say that 'a fool and his money were soon parted.' An Englishman has a right to do what he will with his own; and if any Englishman who has made his money at the public expense in the easy way the squatters make theirs, chooses to build an uninhabited town in any part of this territory, what is that to Mr. ——? Every squatter, without exception, has 'a pre-emptive right' to indulge in all such follies without let or hindrance.

"Cleveland will never compete as a watering-place for Brisbane and Ipswich, or for the inhabitants of the interior generally, with Sandgate, to which the access from Brisbane is so much more easy. Around Cleveland Point the shores of the bay are generally muddy,

and the water very shallow; the tide ebbing a long way out, and leaving a great extent of dry land, from which unpleasant exhalations arise, at low water. I was told indeed at Charleston, in South Carolina, in America, that the exhalations arising from land left dry by the efflux of the tide, did not constitute *malaria*, and were not prejudicial to health. But it would be quite as well for people visiting the coast either for health or for pleasure, not to make the experiment. At Sandgate, which I happened to visit in 1851, the shore is shelving and perfectly free from mud, the beach being composed in some places of sand, and in others of shingle. It is beyond all comparison a more suitable locality for a watering-place, such as will be indispensably necessary in this warm climate by and by; and the building ground being situated much higher above the sea level, and fronting the widest part of the bay, it will be still more favourably situated for the sea-breeze. A good road from Brisbane to Sandgate, and the erection of a hotel, for families and invalids from the southern colonies, in that locality, are *desiderata* at present in this part of the territory.

"As to Cleveland being ever a rival shipping port, competing for pre-eminence with Brisbane and Ipswich, the idea is absurd. Beautiful as the situation confessedly is for a subsidiary town, it affords no protection for shipping, and no facilities of any kind for the loading or unloading of vessels. The bay, it must be recollected, is not less than sixty miles long, and twenty broad to the northward; and vessels lying off the Point are exposed to the full force both of the northerly and southerly winds that are frequent in the bay, the only protection being from easterly or westerly winds. Besides, the water is very shallow, and the navigation, from rocks, and sand or mud-banks, very intricate. Although I do not pretend to be an authority in such matters, I am confident, from what I saw at Cleveland Point, compared with what I have myself seen effected for the navigation of the river Clyde in Scotland, that it would take at least four times the amount to form anything like a proper harbour for shipping at Cleveland Point that it would take to remove every obstruction at present in the way of the navigation of the Brisbane River, and to render that river navigable for the largest vessels. Besides, there are whole miles of natural wharves already formed along both banks of the Brisbane River, whereas it would take an

enormous outlay to construct anything of the kind at Cleveland Point. The jetty at that Point, if carried out for about a hundred yards farther towards the deep water, as is proposed, would form a very good landing-place, both for passengers and goods, for small coasting steamboats trading between the bay and the capital, although even for such vessels it would scarcely be available in bad weather; for I have been told that in such weather the sea makes a complete breach over the present jetty, and if carried out farther, it would only be the more exposed. No doubt if a few millions sterling were to be expended in the construction of a harbour at Cleveland Point, and if a tramroad were formed between Cleveland and Ipswich, 'the Squatters' Mistake' (for that I think ought to be the proper name for Cleveland), might compete with Brisbane as a shipping port. But these *ifs* are very awkward conjunctions; and the squatters who are interested in upholding the character of Cleveland should recollect the sage advice of the authoress of the famous work on Cookery,—'first catch your fish.'

"These remarks, which I trust will not prove altogether valueless in certain quarters, will doubtless be received the more willingly by the intelligent and candid reader, when I add that I was myself strongly prepossessed, on my first visit to this district, nearly nine years ago, with the idea that a shipping port and commercial capital for the Moreton Bay country should be looked for either in the northern or in the southern part of the bay—either at Toorbal Point, opposite Point Skirmish on Bribie's Island, where Flinders found a land-locked harbour, or at Cleveland Point. I am satisfied now, however, that Brisbane is destined to be the future capital of this district, both commercially and politically; and the sooner the question is set completely at rest, the better will it be for all parties concerned. The blundering and delays of our incapable governments,—for the evil is of old standing, and by no means peculiar to the present *régime*,—in the laying out of the sites for towns, and in the adoption of the requisite measures for carrying out proper plans in this important particular, when once resolved on, have occasioned incalculable inconvenience and loss to the inhabitants of these colonies, from Geelong, in Port Phillip, to Moreton Bay; and the procedure of the authorities in this respect will remain a monument of folly to

future generations. At Maitland there are three towns where there ought only to have been one; so are there also at Geelong, and so are there here. In all the three localities it would have been perfectly easy for the government to have formed one noble town in the proper place, and to have prevented the erection of a single house anywhere else in the neighbourhood till that town had been fairly formed. About 120 years ago, old General Oglethorpe, a philanthropist of his day, formed a colony in Georgia in America; and the cities which he formed—one of them a hundred miles up the Savannah River—are built upon his original plans to the present day, having broad streets with lines of trees along the pathways, and noble squares at proper intervals throughout. What a wretched contrast most of our colonial cities and towns present to this noble idea! and how indignant our posterity will feel at their forefathers entailing upon them inconvenience and disease from the faulty construction of our cities and towns! For as the democracy will then have obtained a good government of their own, our posterity will scarcely know how to put the saddle on the right horse in these matters.

"I am, sir, yours, &c.,

"JOHN DUNMORE LANG."

"Brisbane, 17th August, 1854."

On my first visit to Moreton Bay, in November, 1845, per the steamship Sovereign (the vessel that was afterwards unfortunately lost, in the year 1847), we reached the Flat Rock, near the southern entrance of Moreton Bay, during the night, and cast anchor till the turn of the tide should enable us to cross the bar at daylight. In the morning, before we weighed anchor, the mariners caught nearly a cart-load of excellent fish, of various species, and many of them very large, on which all on board both breakfasted and dined; the rest being reserved as presents for the good people of Brisbane.

There is no place near Sydney where fish are in such abundance, or of such excellent quality, as at Moreton Bay; and in the event of a large free immigrant population being settled in that locality, a fishery could be established in the bay with great facility, not only for the supply of a large commercial town, but for curing and exportation. The species of fish that are com-

monest in the bay are mullet, bream, puddinba (a native name, corrupted by the colonists into pudding-ball), kingfish, jewfish, blackfish, whiting, catfish (a fish with a large head, resembling a haddock in taste), &c., &c. The puddinba is like a mullet in shape, but larger, and very fat; it is esteemed a great delicacy. Cod and snapper are the species most frequent at the Flat Rock.

Turtle are very numerous in their proper season, particularly at Kaneipa, the southern extremity of the bay, where small coasting vessels used to take in cedar for Sydney. An intelligent black native whom I met with on the Brisbane River, about the middle of December, when asked when the turtle would come to the bay, held up five fingers in reply, saying, "that moon;" signifying that they would come about the middle of May. The greatest excitement prevails in *hunting* the turtle (for it can scarcely be called fishing); black natives being always of the party, and uniformly the principal performers. The deepest silence must prevail, and if the slightest noise is made by any European of the party, the natives, who assume the direction of affairs, frown the offender into silence. They are constantly looking all around them for the game, and their keen eye detects the turtle in the deep water, when invisible to Europeans. Suddenly, and without any intimation of any kind, one of them leaps over the gunwale of the boat, and dives down in the deep water between the oars, and perhaps, after an interval of three minutes, reappears on the surface with a large turtle. As soon as he appears with his prey, three or four other black fellows leap overboard to his assistance, and the helpless creature is immediately transferred into the boat. A black fellow has in this way not unfrequently brought up a turtle weighing five hundred weight. Great personal courage, as well as great agility, is required in this hazardous employment; the black fellows being frequently wounded by the powerful stroke of the animal's flippers.

Large crabs, frequently of three pounds' weight, are plentiful in the bay. They are of a flatter form than the European species, and have an additional forceps. Shrimps are also found in great numbers.

But the fish, or rather sea-monster, peculiar to Moreton Bay, and the east coast to the northward, is a species of dugong, sea-cow, or manatee, called by the black natives *yungan*. It fre-

quently weighs from twelve to fourteen hundred weight, and the skeleton of one of them that was forwarded to Europe, measured eleven feet in length. The yungan has a very thick skin, like that of the hog with the hair off. It resembles bacon in appearance very much (for I happened to see a flitch of it myself in the hands of a black native, although I did not taste it, which I rather regretted afterwards); and while some parts of the flesh taste like beef, other parts of it are more like pork. The natives are immoderately fond of it; it is their greatest delicacy; and when a yungan is caught on the coast, there is a general invitation sent to the neighbouring tribes to come and eat. The man who first spears the yungan is entitled to perform the ceremony of cutting him up, which is esteemed an office of honour; and the party, whatever be their number, never leave the carcase till it is all gone, eating and disgorging successively till the whole is consumed. "The yungan is supposed to feed on the marine vegetation in the bay; which considering the great extent of the latter, and the quantity of alluvial deposit spread over its bottom, must be very abundant. They are taken in nets, formed with very wide meshes, of very strong cord, and when fairly entangled are despatched with spears. Captain Flinders found one of these nets on the beach in Bribie's Island Passage, formed of cord of from three-quarters of an inch to an inch in circumference, and with meshes large enough to permit the escape of moderately-sized porpoises; but while he admired the ingenuity displayed in its formation he could not divine for what purpose it was intended.

On the 10th December, 1845, Henry Wade, Esq., one of the Government Surveyors of the district, very kindly accompanied me on an excursion to the North Pine River, about thirty miles to the northward of Brisbane; and as I have never revisited that portion of the country, although I have often since been at Brisbane, I shall here subjoin the few memoranda I then made of the journey.

Although there are frequent patches of good land, fit for cultivation, on this route, and a rich belt on both sides of Breakfast Creek, about four miles from Brisbane, the general character of the country, as far as the South Pine River, fourteen miles from Brisbane, is at best but indifferent.

The Pine River is properly an arm of the sea, leading up from

Moreton Bay, and navigable for twenty miles from its entrance. The North and South Pine Rivers are two independent streams, which unite their waters at the head of the navigation; being evidently mighty torrents in seasons of rain, but insignificant streams, scarcely running at all, in periods of drought. It had been such a period during the year 1845: it was the driest and hottest season that had been known at Moreton Bay; no rain to speak of having fallen for four months previous to my visit, and the whole quantity that had fallen during the year up to the 10th of December having been only twenty-four inches, while the average of the two previous years had been much higher. On that day, however, it commenced raining in right earnest, as if to make up for the deficiency of the previous portion of the year. In crossing from the South to the North Pine, my fellow-traveller and myself were caught in a thunder-storm, the awful grandeur of which can scarcely be conceived by persons who have never been in a lower latitude than 50°; the loud artillery of heaven pealing tremendously around us, and reverberating from hill to hill, and the lightning flashing incessantly.* During the last eight miles of our journey, from the North Pine River to the Squatter's Station, to which we were bound, the rain fell in buckets-full, and we were completely drenched in a few minutes. For ten days thereafter it rained almost constantly, with a few hours only of interval, on two or three of these days, and the drooping vegetation of the country immediately revived. Indeed, the transition from a state of apparent death in the vegetable kingdom to a state of the most vigorous health, is, in such circumstances, rapid beyond conception in such a climate as that of Moreton Bay — especially, as was the case in this instance, at midsummer.

On crossing the South Pine River, the country improves rapidly, and along both banks of the North Pine, and for a considerable distance on either side of it, it is rich and beautiful in an eminent degree; consisting of hill and dale, exhibiting the finest pasture imaginable for sheep and cattle, with many grassy flats, of from twenty to fifty acres each, almost without a tree, and ready for the plough. It is a country admirably adapted for small farmers, being equally suited for pasture and for cultivation.

* "Intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus æther."—Virgil, Æn. I.

On the banks of the South Pine River, where we halted for a few minutes to water our horses, on our return to Brisbane, we gathered a number of wild raspberries in the thick brush or jungle. They resemble those of Europe in appearance; but in such situations, being screened both from the sun-light and the fresh air by the surrounding vegetation, they are rather insipid. In other and more open situations they are much better. Wild strawberries, resembling those of Europe, were also frequent; and beautiful flowering shrubs, of an infinite variety, were wasting both their beauty and their fragrance on the desert air. There is a species of native currant very frequently met with in this part of the country, very different, however, from that of New South Wales. It is black in colour, of a mild agreeable flavour, and as large as the black currant of Europe; the native currant of New South Wales being of a green colour when ripe, much smaller, and exceedingly acid.

A day or two after my return to Brisbane, Mr. Wade very kindly offered to accompany me in his boat on an excursion up the river, that I might be enabled to form some idea of the capabilities of the country along its banks; and accordingly, on the day appointed, we embarked, having four black natives along with us to row the boat, and to search for game on the banks. The names of the natives were Gnunnumbah, Tomboorrowa, and Dunkly; the fourth being a mere boy about twelve years of age, who had no name. Mr. Wade having informed me, however, that the boy would take it as a great compliment if I would give him a name, and would bear it ever after, I proposed that we should call him Sydney — a name with which he seemed highly pleased, and to which he responded as a matter of course during our excursion. Gnunnumbah was a tall, intelligent black fellow, who usually resided at the pilot station, which was then at Amity Point, and was well acquainted with the management of a boat. He had a jacket and trowsers like a European sailor, and as a proof of his being not altogether deficient in curiosity — having observed that I occasionally took a pencil and made memoranda of any interesting information I had received, or of anything I had observed in the course of our excursion — he asked Mr. Wade, when I was absent for a few minutes reconnoitring a portion of the bush where we had landed to take some refreshment,

"What for Commandant yacca paper?"—What is the gentleman working at the paper for? As a matter of courtesy they call every respectable European stranger *Commandant; that* having been the designation of the principal officer of the settlement when it was a mere receptacle for twice-transported felons. The other black fellows of the party were all evidently much less acquainted with the habits of civilised life, and they were all equally innocent of clothing of any kind whatever. Tomboorrowa, however, was a fine, stout, good-looking man; his breast, arms and legs were much marked with cicatrices or ornamental scars, which they are in the habit of forming upon their persons, partly by way of decoration, and partly as the distinctive mark or armorial bearing of their respective tribes; each having a peculiar form of cicatrix, which is as well known among them as the tartan of any particular Highland clan. The scars are formed by means of a pretty deep incision of the form required, made with a muscle-shell; the lips of the wound being kept open till the flesh rises between them, so that the new skin appears considerably elevated above the surrounding surface. The limbs of the first black native of the district whom I happened to see in the pilot's boat at the southern entrance of the bay, were so regularly, so tastefully, and so completely covered with this species of ornament, that not having a full view of his person at the time, I actually thought for a minute or two, till he leaped upon the deck of the steamboat *in puris naturalibus*, that his lower garment was of flowered satin. Tomboorrowa had his long black hair, which was most abundant, done up in a peculiar style; it was plaited or twisted all round into long ringlets, resembling the thrums of a mop. Happening to observe casually to Mr. Wade, as the natives were sitting around the fire we made in the bush, when we landed in the course of the day, that I should like to have one of the thrums to take home as a curiosity to England, Mr. Wade took a pair of scissors and cut one of them out, which he gave me. Tomboorrowa exhibited no resentment towards Mr. Wade for this "Rape of the Lock;" but he exhibited in his countenance the utmost apprehension as to the use to which I was likely to apply it, and was evidently under the idea that I would use it in some process of sorcery, of which he would be the victim. I could not of course allow the poor

fellow to entertain such an idea, however unfounded, and so gave him the thrum, which at once restored his tranquillity of mind.

For some distance above Brisbane, the river is considerably wider than it is lower down; and where the banks on one side are high and rocky, as is often the case in the lower part of its course, there is generally a considerable extent of level alluvial land, formed by successive depositions from the river in times of flood, on the opposite side. These constitute what are called the *brushes*, in which the soil is of the richest description, and the vegetation much more varied and vigorous than on the forest-land, beyond the reach of floods. These flats are found along the whole course of the main river and its various tributaries; and in the higher parts of the course they are both more frequent and more extensive than in the lower. There would be much less difficulty also in clearing them than I at first apprehended there would be, and they would prove admirable localities for the settlement of small farmers to raise the various productions suited to the district. In short, I cannot conceive anything either in natural or in moral scenery more interesting and beautiful than this noble river would unquestionably be, if its banks were thus lined with the neat cottages and well-cultivated farms of a happy peasantry. At present there is everything in the disposition of land and water that the lover of the picturesque and beautiful could desire; and pity it is that such a region should be lying comparatively waste and unoccupied, when there are so many thousands of our fellow-countrymen struggling with poverty and privations at home!

When we reached a certain point of our course, where the river makes a remarkable bend, and forms a sort of peninsula, Mr. Wade gave Tomboorrowa and little Sydney a gun and some ammunition, desiring them to cross the neck of the peninsula, and meet us at another point considerably farther up, which he indicated, with whatever game they might chance to fall in with by the way. On our reaching the point referred to, the black fellows had arrived, but without any game, with the exception of a beautifully marked carpet-snake of about four feet long, which Sydney had struck and stunned, but which was still alive. He threw it, as it was, into the bottom of the boat; and the creature

beginning to crawl about, I was withdrawing instinctively as far as possible from so apparently dangerous a vicinity, when the black fellows observed, "That fellow no bite,"—meaning that his bite was not dangerous. When we had reached the highest point of the river to which our excursion was to extend, we went ashore on one of tne alluvial flats on the right bank; and Mr. Wade having given one of the natives a lucifer match, which he had provided for the occasion, the latter immediately kindled a fire, of the withered grass and dried branches of trees with which the place abounded.

After partaking of some refreshment, Mr. Wade again gave Tomboorrowa and Sydney the gun to shoot wild ducks or other game in the bush. In the mean time, one of the other black fellows took the snake, and placing it on the branch of a tree, and striking it on the back of the head repeatedly with a piece of wood, threw it into the fire. The animal was not quite dead, for it wriggled for a minute or two in the fire, and then became very stiff and swollen, apparently from the expansion of the gases imprisoned in its body. The black fellow then drew it out of the fire, and with a knife cut through the skin longitudinally on both sides of the animal, from the head to the tail. He then coiled it up as a sailor does a rope, and laid it again upon the fire, turning it over again and again with a stick till he thought it sufficiently done on all sides, and superintending the process of cooking with all the interest imaginable. When he thought it sufficiently roasted, he thrust a stick into the coil, and laid it on the grass to cool, and when cool enough to admit of handling, he took it up again, wrung off its head and tail which he threw away, and then broke the rest of the animal by the joints of the vertebræ into several pieces, one of which he threw to the other black fellow, and another he began eating himself with much apparent relish. Neither Mr. Wade nor myself having ever previously had the good fortune to witness the dressing of a snake for dinner by the black natives, we were much interested with the whole operation; and as the steam from the roasting snake was by no means unsavoury, and the flesh delicately white, we were each induced to try a bit of it. It was not unpalatable by any means, although rather fibrous and stringy, like ling-fish. Mr. Wade observed, that it reminded him of the

taste of eels; but as there was a strong prejudice against the use of eels as an article of food in the west of Scotland in my boyhood, I had never tasted an eel, and was therefore unable to testify to the correctness of this observation. There was doubtless an equally strong prejudice to get over in the case of the snake, and for an hour or two after I had partaken of it, my stomach was ever and anon on the point of insurrection at the very idea of the thing; but thinking it unmanly to yield to such a feeling, I managed to keep it down.

We had scarcely finished the snake when Tomboorrowa and little Sydney returned again. They had been more successful this time, having shot two wallabies or brush kangaroos, and another carpet-snake of six feet in length. A bundle of rotten branches was instantly gathered and thrown upon the expiring embers of our former fire, and both the wallabies and the snake were thrown into the flame. One of the wallabies had been a female, and as it lay dead on the grass, a young one, four or five inches long, crept out of its pouch. I took up the little creature, and, presenting it to the pouch, it crept in again. Having turned round, however, for a minute or two, Gnunnumbah had taken it up and thrown it alive into the fire; for, when I happened to look again towards the fire, I saw it in the flames in the agony of death. In a minute or two the young wallaby being sufficiently done, Gnunnumbah drew it out of the fire with a stick, and eat its hind quarters without further preparation, throwing the rest of it away.

It is the etiquette among the black natives for the person who takes the game to conduct the cooking of it. As soon, therefore, as the skins of the wallabies had become stiff and distended from the expansion of the gases in the cavity of their bodies, Tomboorrowa and Sydney each pulled out one of them from the fire, and scraping off the singed hair roughly with the hand, cut up the belly and pulled out the entrails. They then cleared out the entrails, not very carefully by any means, rubbing them roughly on the grass or on the bushes, and then threw them again upon the fire. When they considered them sufficiently done, the two eat them; a considerable quantity of their original contents remaining to serve as a sort of condiment or sauce. The tails and lower limbs of the two wallabies, when the latter were

supposed to be done enough, were twisted off and eaten by the other two natives (from one of whom I got one of the vertebræ of the tail and found it delicious); the rest of the carcases, with the large snake, being packed up in a number of the "Sydney Herald" to serve as a mess for the whole camp at Brisbane. The black fellows were evidently quite delighted with the excursion; and on our return to the settlement they asked Mr. Wade if he was not going again to-morrow.

Back from the rich alluvial flats on the right bank of the river, there is much land of very inferior quality on the road from Brisbane to Ipswich. With the exception, indeed, of a rich alluvial plain of a few thousand acres in extent, called Cowper's Plains, about ten miles from Brisbane, the country on both sides of the route is almost absolutely sterile. At Woogaroo Creek, however, rather more than half-way to Ipswich, the country exhibits a remarkable change for the better; and the road, for the last few miles of the route, traverses as rich and beautiful a country as I have ever seen.

On my first visit to Moreton Bay in 1845, a friend and fellow-traveller introduced me, on this part of our route, to Dr. Simpson, Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Moreton Bay district, who was then residing at Red Bank on the Brisbane River, and who very kindly invited us to dine with him. Dr. Simpson is a gentleman of cultivated mind and manners, who had travelled much and read a great deal more; having been many years in the army, as the surgeon of a Regiment of Cavalry: and I now revert to the incident of having thus made his acquaintance with the greater pleasure, from the circumstance of my having next met with Dr. Simpson as a fellow-passenger from Australia to Malta, on my present voyage to England per the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers, by Ceylon and the Red Sea. Dr. Simpson's temporary residence, which he afterwards vacated for a substantial house he had erected on a property of his own on Woogaroo Creek, farther down the river, was in the usual bush style — a rustic cottage formed of rough slabs, roofed either with bark or shingles, but more frequently with the former, with a verandah in front and outbuildings to match. The site, which had been selected with great taste, is on a ridge overlooking a beautiful bend of the

river, and Dr. Simpson had spared neither pains nor expense in forming a most picturesque garden in a natural hollow, where the soil consists of the richest alluvial land, intervening between the house and the river; leaving the more ornamental bush trees of the natural forest to give interest and variety to the scene, and to contrast with European pot-herbs and the other exotic vegetation of the garden. With the natural history and appearance of one of these relicts of the ancient forest, the Moreton Bay fig-tree, which I then saw for the first time, I was remarkably struck. This tree bears a species of fig, which I was told (for it was not in season at the time) is by no means unpalatable, and of which it seems both the black natives and the bronze-winged pigeons of the Australian forest are equally fond. The latter frequently deposit the seeds with their dung in the forks or natural hollows of forest trees, where the seeds take root and very soon throw down a number of slender twigs or tendrils all round the tree, from a height perhaps of twenty or thirty feet, to the ground—being apparently a harmless parasite, which it would be unfeeling to disturb. As soon, however, as these tendrils reach the earth, they all successively strike root into the soil, and anon present the appearance of a number of props or stays around an old rickety building, or rather of a rising favourite at court gradually supplanting his predecessor and benefactor, who has brought him into notice, in the good graces of his sovereign, and finally accomplishing his ruin. The fate of the parent-tree that has nourished these step-children is either speedy or protracted according to its nature; but nothing in the Australian forest can long resist the fatal embrace of the native fig-tree, and the tree around which it has thus sprung into parasitical life is doomed eventually to die. The tendrils, which have then perhaps attained the thickness of a man's limb, or it may be of his body, intertwine their branches, and gradually filling up by their lateral expansion the hollow left by the wasting away of the parent-tree, exhibit at length a gigantic specimen of Australian vegetation. I also met with one of these trees on my journey with Mr. Wade in the rich alluvial land on Breakfast Creek, a few miles from Brisbane. I could not ascertain its height, but it measured 42 feet in circumference at five feet from the ground. At that height

spurs were thrown out from it at an angle of 45 degrees all round. The specimen in Dr. Simpson's garden had fortunately attached itself to an iron-tree—the hardest and heaviest species of timber in the district. The parent-tree, which was still in life and in vigorous vegetation, may have been 18 inches in diameter, and the tendrils which clasped it round so affectionately were each only about the thickness of a man's leg; but the iron-tree was evidently doomed to die under the resistless grasp of this ungrateful parasite, and it required no stretch of fancy to imagine the agony it was suffering, or to liken it to a goat or deer dying under the horrible embrace of a boa constrictor or polar bear.

The earliest notice of the character of the country on the Bremer River, at the head of the navigation of which the town of Ipswich is situated, was contained in the Journal of an excursion to Moreton Bay, and up the river Brisbane, in the year 1825, by the late Edmund Lockyer, Esq., then Major in H.M. 57th Regiment, and afterwards Usher of the Black Rod in the Upper House of Parliament in New South Wales. It is in the following terms:—

"Took one of the boats, and went up this branch above three miles; then landed, and on ascending the banks, found a large open country with scarcely any wood of consequence to impede cultivation on it—the trees, chiefly blue-gums, being at least an acre or more apart, and more ornamental than otherwise. The natives had lately set fire to the long grass, and the new grass was just above ground, making this plain appear like a bowling-green; the soil, rich beyond any idea, and from its being easily flooded, it would be particularly adapted for the cultivation of rice, sugar-cane, cotton and coffee. I saw plenty of kangaroos and wild turkeys. After traversing this fine piece of land, which was at least six or seven thousand acres in extent, I returned to our encampment."

As Major Lockyer died only a few months ago, leaving a widow and several young children but indifferently provided for, I cannot refrain from quoting—in illustration of his own gentle and humane disposition, as well as in the hope of interesting the authorities of Queensland in favour of the widow and children of a deserving officer, who endeavoured at a very early period and

by no means unsuccessfully, to develope the resources of that country—the following additional extract from his Journal:—

"The attachment of these people (the aborigines) to their dogs is worthy of notice; I was very anxious to get one of the wild native breed of a black colour, a very handsome puppy, which one of the men had in his arms. I offered a small axe for it; his companion urged him to take it, and he was about to do so, when *he looked at his dog, and the animal licked his face, which settled the business; he shook his head, determined to keep it.* I tried him afterwards with handkerchiefs of glaring colours, and other things, but *it would not do—he would not part with his dog. I gave him, however, the axe and the handkerchief.*" *

"In the year 1827, Captain Logan, also of the 57th Regiment, then Commandant of Moreton Bay, in tracing the Bremer from its junction with the Brisbane, discovered, at ten miles through its many windings from that point, the calcareous hummocks on its right bank now named the 'Limestone Hills.'

"Landing, he was much struck with the singular appearance of the lofty Xanthorrhææ, or grass-tree, which abound on the open flats, low hills, and forest grounds, at this particular part, and which the Commandant had not inaptly compared to bee-hives elevated on stools.

"Some months after this discovery a kiln was built, and a party of convicts, consisting of an overseer (acquainted with the operations of sapping and mining) and five men, were stationed at these hills to commence lime-burning." †

It was from this small beginning that the town of Ipswich, which now contains a busy, commercial population of upwards of 4000 inhabitants, has since arisen. From the large extent of agricultural land of the first quality, a deep rich black mould, on both sides of the river, and within a moderate distance, it will always be one of the first agricultural districts in Queensland: and although the *Xanthorrhææ*, or native grass-tree, which gave it so interesting a character in the eyes of its discoverers, are

* Journal of an Excursion to Moreton Bay, and up the river Brisbane in the year 1825, by Edmund Lockyer, Esq., J.P., late Major in H. M. 57th Regiment, from Wilton's Australian Quarterly Journal for July and October, 1828.

† Manuscript Report to the late General Darling, by Alan Cunningham, Esq.

now, like the black natives, fast disappearing, there is still a sufficient number remaining to justify their enthusiastic descriptions.

The town of Ipswich is still less remarkable than Brisbane for the style and character of its buildings, although both in and around the town, public and private edifices are rising up that will do credit to the place at no distant period. It has places of worship for the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independent, Methodist, Baptist and Roman Catholic communions—two newspapers, the "Ipswich Herald" and the "North Australian," a School of Arts, a National School, and branches of the principal banking establishments of the colonies. Ipswich is now a corporate town, and has a mayor and aldermen; but these functionaries have, as yet, been too short a time in office to have done much for the place.

In the year 1854, I traversed the whole extent of the Moreton Bay country from Ipswich to the coast range of mountains by two different routes: proceeding in the first instance to Warwick, at the southern extremity of the Darling Downs; then traversing the Downs for fifty miles to Drayton, and Toowoomba, and from thence returning to Ipswich by the northern road. I then saw and traversed about two hundred and fifty miles of what is now the colony of Queensland, which I had not seen or traversed before. It was then and is still occupied for the most part as pastoral runs for sheep and cattle, for which the whole of it appeared remarkably well adapted. But there were many portions of it, both on the southern and on the northern route, admirably adapted for the settlement of an agricultural population*; and I have no doubt that, under the new land system of the new colony, it will soon be occupied, to a large extent, for agricultural purposes, by a numerous body of farmers from the mother-country, while thriving villages and populous towns will start into existence in all parts of it.

Between Ipswich and the base of the coast range, on the southern route, there is a tract of country, called Normanby Plains, of about 50,000 acres, a portion of which, Mr. Alan Cunningham, the Australian explorer, speaks of as follows:—

* Extract of an unpublished letter of the late Australian traveller, Dr. Leichhardt, of date, Mr. Bigge's station, 8th Nov. 1843: "I have seen some forty miles more of the district, *and the more I see, the more I feel convinced that it is eminently fit for small settlers.*"

"Nothing can possibly exceed the richness and mellowness of its fine black soil; and certainly there is not in any explored part of New South Wales a more beautiful subject for the pencil of the artist, than the landscape presented to the traveller from the centre of Bainbrigge Plain, to which no description of mine can possibly do justice.

Of the mountain scenery to the eastward of the coast range, Dr. Leichhardt also speaks in the following glowing language:—

"*Canning Downs, 27th March*, 1844.—I visited an extremely interesting mountainous country, and beheld some of the finest scenery which this colony possesses. Flinders's Peak range, and several other large mountains, either isolated and forming bold masses of naked rock or in high ranges covered with brush, with some immense precipices, are composed of the rock of the glass-houses (domite or earthy trachyte). Sandstone extends in horizontal layers round their foot; coal crops out here and there from the mouth of the river to the very foot of the coast range. Fossil wood is found in the sandstone in very considerable masses. The brush bears a different character from that of Archer's. It is not so dense, does not contain so many vines, and its principal constituent is the Rosewood Acacia, the wood of which has a very agreeable violet scent like the Myal Acacia (*A. pendula*) in Liverpool Plains. The ground is dry, but several malvaceous half-shrubby plants, which grow to four or five feet high, make a passage through the brush very difficult. The most interesting tree of this rosewood brush is the true bottle tree—a strange looking unseemly tree, which swells slightly four to five feet high, and then tapers rapidly into a small diameter; the foliage is thin, the crown scanty and irregular, the leaves lanceolate, of a greyish green; the height of the whole tree is about forty-five feet. Several vines of the Asclepiadaceæ are in blossom; and some trees which I did not meet before, paid my fatigue.

"The finest mountain country I have seen in this colony is the eastern side of the Gap, through which the road passes from the Brisbane to the southern part of the Downs. This Gap intervenes between the high mountains—Mount Mitchell and Mount Cordeaux. Sunny ranges, covered with fine grass and open forest, ascend pretty rapidly to the Pass. The coast range forms an amphitheatre of dark steep mountains; a waterfall rushes

over a precipice three hundred feet high into a rocky valley, which one might take for the crater of an extinct volcano, if the surrounding rocks warranted such a supposition. Bold isolated mountains appear in the distance, in their various tints of blue, and during sunset dimming through a purple mist." *

Of the northern route, which also contains much valuable agricultural land and much interesting mountain scenery, I shall only observe that its capabilities in the former of these respects are likely to be developed very speedily; for a company is now in process of formation at Brisbane, for the construction of a tram-road from Ipswich to Drayton and Toowoomba, two thriving inland towns at the northern extremity of the Darling Downs.

* Manuscript letters of the late Dr. Leichhardt to the late Robert Lynd, Esq., then Barrackmaster, Sydney; for some time *penes me.*

CHAP. IV.

THE DARLING DOWNS AND THE NORTH-WESTERN INTERIOR.

THE beautiful tract of country, called the "Darling Downs," situated to the westward of the coast range of mountains, which divides the eastern from the western waters of Queensland; was discovered in the year 1827, by the late Alan Cunningham, Esq., botanical collector for the royal gardens at Kew, a gentleman of superior ability and of indefatigable zeal in the department of geographical discovery. On crossing the parallel of 30° south latitude, at an elevation of 1900 feet above the level of the sea, Mr. Cunningham descended to "a beautiful and well-watered valley, affording abundance of the richest pasturage, and bounded on either side by a bold and elevated rocky range." This valley terminated at length sixteen miles farther north, on the left bank of a considerable stream flowing north-west, in latitude 29° 51′ S. at an elevation of 911 feet above the sea. This stream Mr. Cunningham named the Gwydir. Proceeding northward, between the meridians of 150° and 151° E. and passing through rather an indifferent country, the scene was found gradually to improve; and in latitude 29° S., longitude 150° 40′ E., he came upon the Dumaresq River, running westward, 80 or 90 yards wide, and very deep, at an elevation of 840 feet above the sea, and 170 miles from the coast. Travelling from thence northward and eastward 80 miles, through an arid country, to 151° E., he at length discovered a beautiful tract of country, at an elevation of 900 or 1000 feet above that of the Dumaresq River, which he called the "Darling Downs," to the westward of the coast range, in the district of Moreton Bay.

"These extensive tracts of clear pastoral country," observes Mr. Cunningham, "commence about the parallel of 28° S., and

stretch to 150° E. Deep ponds, supported by streams from the highlands immediately to the eastward, extend along their central lower flats. The lower grounds thus permanently watered, present flats which furnish an almost inexhaustible range of cattle pasture at all seasons of the year—the grass and herbage generally exhibiting in the depth of winter, an extreme luxuriance of growth. From these central grounds rise downs of a rich, black, and dry soil, and very ample surface; and as they furnish abundance of grass, and are conveniently watered, yet perfectly beyond the reach of those floods which take place on the flats in a season of rain, they constitute a valuable and sound sheep pasture."*

In an article on this journey which he communicated to a colonial journal in the year 1828, Mr. Cunningham adds the following particulars:—

"The elevation of the dividing range above the level of the ocean may be considered about 4100 feet. The forest ridges, which were heavily timbered with stringy-bark of great bulk, were found clothed to their summits with grasses of the most luxuriant growth; and being well watered by numerous trickling rills that appeared to originate between the shoulders of the hills, constitute a very spacious range of the richest cattle pasture.

"The summits and flanks of the ranges produce great abundance of well-grown stringy-bark, whilst their lower ridges furnish stately pine of the species already well known on the Brisbane, from 60 to 80 feet in height; and as small saplings of the red cedar were observed on the skirts of the brushes that invest the base of the hills, large trees of this valuable wood are doubtless to be met with in their more distant recesses.

"The base of these mountains is of a compact whinstone; on the higher ridges was observed amygdaloid, or the trap formation, with nodules of quartz, whilst the summit exhibited a porphyritic rock, very porous, and containing numerous minute quartzose crystallisations."†

In a private letter (*penes me*) addressed to the late Robert

* "Brief View of the Progress of Interior Discovery in New South Wales." Communicated by Alan Cunningham, Esq. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. ii. p. 113.

† "Australian Quarterly Journal" for April 1828.

Lynd, Esq., barrackmaster, Sydney, Dr. Leichhardt describes this beautiful tract of country as follows:—

"*German Mission Station, 23rd June*, 1843.—From the Condamine River (the western limit of the Darling Downs), the country rises very gently, almost imperceptibly, till the road passes between two hills or ranges, when the basaltic rock reappears again. Very extensive shallow valleys or plains, generally with a creek, overgrown with reeds, covered with high rich grass, were spread before my eyes, when I had passed these hills, the right of which goes under the name of Rubislaw, and the left under that of Sugar-loaf. Here and there the grass-tree is seen, either single, or in groups and groves. It is one foot and more in diameter, and eight to ten feet high. Till then I had never seen the grass-tree in rich soil; on the contrary, it was the sign of the poorest sandstone rock and sand. Here the case is reversed; the grass tree grows in the finest soil, and generally in plains. The ranges which border the plains are covered with box, with a gum tree, called the Moreton Bay ash, with a different species of angophora, and with another white gum. The trees are generally very scattered, and the forest becomes only denser, the vegetation more powerful, as we approach the range of its eastern slopes. All this country, from the Condamine to the range, is called the Darling Downs. There is no equal to them over all the colony for sheep rearing, for the fatness and tenderness of the mutton, for the excellent qualities of the wool (which, however, is not generally admitted), and for the cheap rate for which flocks can be managed. One shepherd can look after 2000 to 3000 sheep, which would require four shepherds in other parts."

I cannot refrain from quoting the following additional notices of this very interesting region, which Dr. Leichhardt traversed a second time during the following year, in commencing his famous overland expedition to Port Essington.

"These stations (the sheep and cattle stations on the Darling Downs) are established on creeks which come down from the western slopes of the coast range—here extending in a north and south direction—and meander through plains of more or less extent to join the Condamine River, which, also, rising in the coast range where the latter expands into the table-land of New England, sweeps round to the northward, and, flowing parallel

to the coast range, receives the whole drainage from the country to the westward of the range. The Condamine forms, for a great distance, the separation of the sandstone country to the westward from the rich basaltic plains to the eastward. These plains, so famous for the richness of their pasture, and for the excellence of the sheep and cattle depastured upon them, have become equally remarkable as the depositaries of the remains of extinct species of animals, several of which must have been of a gigantic size, being the Marsupial representatives of the Pachydermal order of other continents.

"Mr. Isaacs' station is particularly rich in these fossil remains; * * * * At Isaacs' Creek, they occur together with recent freshwater shells of species still living in the neighbouring ponds, and with marly and calcareous concretions; which induces me to suppose that these plains were covered with large sheets of water, fed, probably, by calcareous springs connected with the basaltic range, and that huge animals, fond of water, were living, either on the rich herbage surrounding these ponds or lakes, or browsing upon the leaves and branches of trees forming thick brushes on the slopes of the neighbouring hills. The rise of the country, which is very generally supposed to have taken place, was probably the cause of the disappearance of the water, and of the animals becoming extinct, when its necessary supply ceased to exist.

"The elevation of Darling Downs,—about 1800 to 2000 feet, according to the barometrical observations of Mr. Cunningham—renders the climate much cooler than its latitude would lead one to suppose: indeed, ice has frequently been found during the calm clear nights of winter. * * * The plains, as we passed, were covered with the most luxuriant grass and herbage." *

As I have already stated, I traversed about fifty miles of the Darling Downs country in the year 1854, from the rising town of Warwick, in about 28° south latitude, to the town of Drayton, towards its northern extremity. Warwick is beautifully situated on a bend of the Condamine River, which skirts the western extremity of the Downs. It has all the requisites of a first-class inland colonial town—plenty of the finest land for cultivation,

* "Journal of an Overland Expedition in Australia from Moreton Bay to Port Essington, a distance of upwards of 3000 miles, during the years 1844-46, by Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt." London, 1847.

with an extensive pastoral country around it for sheep and cattle; excellent water in abundance, and interesting scenery in the distance in the great dividing range; while its elevation of 2000 feet above the level of the sea, insures it one of the finest climates imaginable. There are places of worship in Warwick for the principal leading denominations of the mother-country, each of which has its representatives and adherents in all places of considerable population in Queensland; and, as the town is shortly to be incorporated, it will soon have a mayor and aldermen of its own, like the city of old Guy in England, from which it derives its name.

On his first visit to Warwick, in the month of March, 1860, the inhabitants presented an address of congratulation to his Excellency, Sir George Bowen, the governor, in which the following paragraph occurs:—

"We hail your Excellency's first visit to Warwick as the harbinger of a more healthy state of things, inasmuch as it will give your Excellency an opportunity of seeing and appreciating the many natural advantages and undeveloped resources of this unrivalled district."

To which his Excellency replies as follows:—

"I thank you for the really splendid welcome which you have accorded to me on this my first visit to your rich and beautiful district. So numerous a cavalcade of well-mounted horsemen as that which this day met and escorted me into your town, presents a spectacle such as can be exhibited in only two countries of the world—in England and in Australia.

"You have rightly interpreted the objects of my arrival among you. These official tours afford me, it is true, unalloyed pleasure. The lovely scenery and the delicious climate combine, with the kindest attention and hospitality on the part of the residents upon the whole line of my route, to render my journeys easy and agreeable."

Drayton, although a place of some consequence, as may be inferred from the fact of its having a weekly and well-conducted newspaper, the "Darling Downs Gazette," appears to have been selected as the site of an inland Australian town, from the want of those very important requisites which I have shown Warwick possesses. It is a place of heights and hollows; with little or no

good land for cultivation in its immediate neighbourhood, and no natural supply of water. But the fact is, it was the only spot, at the time when trading people and mechanics first desired to settle in the district, that could be had on any terms—in a country, too, in which millions of acres of the finest land for all the purposes of man were occupied at a merely nominal rental for their flocks and herds, by their high mightinesses, the squatters; who were then, literally,

"Monarchs of all they surveyed."

And the monarchical principle, I may add, with these gentlemen, was that of the purest despotism; as the case of Drayton, and the unfortunate people who were obliged to settle there, on the principle of Hobson's choice, sufficiently proves. But the obvious necessity for plenty both of good land and of good water for an inland town very soon led to the formation of another and rival town, called by the native name Toowoomba, in the same central part of the country about four miles from Drayton. Toowoomba is already of sufficient importance to send a member to the Parliament of Queensland; and both it and Drayton have recently applied to the Local Government to be incorporated under the Municipal Act of the colony. Sir George Bowen, indeed, has expressed his desire to have both these towns combined under the same Act of Incorporation. To this, however, the inhabitants of both are strongly, and I cannot help thinking, rightly opposed. Four miles is rather too far off for one part of the same town from another. Besides, it was not the fault of the people that there are two towns in that part of the country, where there ought unquestionably to have been but one only: it was the fault of the former rulers of the country, who ought to have exercised their undoubted right at the proper time, to make the necessary reservations for towns in all suitable localities. The omission of this indispensable duty, by the rulers of any country, is a virtual abdication of one of the most important functions of government; and posterity must suffer the consequences of their neglect, which are often very serious, for all time coming. For false steps, in the location and the laying out of cities and towns—and they are visible almost everywhere in the Australian colonies—can never be retraced.

In their congratulatory address to his Excellency the Governor,

on his first visit to the Darling Downs, the inhabitants of Drayton express themselves as follows:—

"May it please your Excellency:—

"We, her Majesty's most loyal and devoted subjects, hail with feelings of extreme pleasure this your Excellency's first visit to the oldest town in this highly important district of the Darling Downs—a district than which none in her Majesty's colonies is more favoured, either in its climate, which is so salubrious and healthy as to leave its inhabitants unscathed by those diseases which are incidental to the human race in other portions of her Majesty's dominions; or in its soil, which is so rich and fertile, agriculturally and pastorally, as to have obtained a reputation which has extended even to the shores of Great Britain."

To which his Excellency thus replies:—

"I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to state publicly that my recent journey over the Darling Downs has filled me with surprise and admiration. Even before I left England, I knew by report the rich natural resources and the picturesque beauty of this district, the scenery of which vividly recals to my mind the general aspect of the classic plains of Thessaly. But I confess that I was not fully prepared for so wonderfully rapid an advance in all that can promote and adorn civilisation; an advance which has taken place during the fourth part of an average lifetime. Not only have I seen vast herds of horses and cattle, and countless flocks of sheep, overspreading the valleys and forests, which, within the memory of persons who have yet scarcely attained to the age of manhood, were tenanted only by wild animals and by a few wandering tribes of savages; not only have I travelled over roads beyond all comparison superior to the means of communication which existed less than a century ago in many parts of the United Kingdom; not only have I beheld flourishing towns arising in spots where, hardly twenty years back, the foot of a white man had never yet trodden the primeval wilderness; not only have I admired these and other proofs of material progress, but I have also found in the houses of the long chain of settlers who have entertained me with such cordial hospitality, all the comforts and most of the luxuries and refinements of the houses of country gentlemen in England. The wonderful advance of this portion of the colony during the last ten years is due to no

sudden and fortuitous discovery of the precious metals; it is derived wholly from the blessing of Providence on the skill and energy of its inhabitants in subduing and replenishing the earth. Assuredly, I have observed during the past week very remarkable illustrations of the proverbial genius of the Anglo-Saxon race for the noble and truly imperial art of colonisation."

The inhabitants of Toowoomba are in no respect behind their neighbours of Drayton in the estimate they have formed of the physical character and capabilities of their highly-favoured district. On the contrary, in the genuine spirit of rivalry, they go a step beyond their neighbours, and lodge a claim with his Excellency for being constituted not only a separate municipality, but the capital of Queensland! In their address to the governor, on his first visit to the Downs, after congratulating him on his "arrival in the most favoured district under his Excellency's Government," they add, as follows:—

"Favoured as we are by being one of the few localities in a tropical climate where English husbandry can be successfully carried on, we beg to draw your attention to the fact that we possess a climate unrivalled for its salubrity, and a soil unsurpassed for its productiveness. Our pasturage is considered the richest in the northern districts, and we confidently hope that when the future seat of government is brought under the consideration of the Parliament, and your Excellency's opinion is solicited thereon, Toowoomba may be deemed one of the first and most desirable, embracing all the essentials for the capital of Queensland."

Sir George Bowen evidently fought rather shy under this unexpected charge of the Toowoomba sharpshooters, and he adroitly endeavoured to create a diversion, by repeating his favourite proposal for an incorporating union of the two towns; but the people of Toowoomba absolutely forbade the banns.

I shall sum up this account of the Darling Downs country with the following extract from the observations of a visitor from Melbourne, writing to one of the Queensland journals, from Toowoomba:—

"I have traversed not a few miles on the ranges, and have seen far finer kangaroo grass than is to be found down south; but not a hoof has ever trod the soil, so far as I could see. There

was not a track even, and the grass was up to our saddle-girths, and in some instances higher. And then the creeks—flowing with the finest spring water, through gullies which a slight expenditure would convert into endless reservoirs—are numerous. There is nothing to prevent the conversion of very much of the slopes of the great dividing range into as fine a grazing or even agricultural country as ever the glorious sun shone on. And in real truth, there is no soil finer throughout the Australias; no climate more really delightful; no country more pregnant with undeveloped resources, than these Darling Downs, in the vicinity of that great *bête noir*, the dividing range."

Besides the three I have enumerated, there are other two incipient towns in the western interior—Dalby, in the Darling Downs, and Surat, considerably farther west, in the Maranoa district. The police district, of which Dalby is the head-quarters, contained in 1858—for I have not had any later accounts of it—a population of 850; while that of Surat, which extends from Chinchilla, in the Darling Downs district, to the river Warrego, the western limit of the district of Maranoa, contained at the same time a population of 415, which must have been greatly augmented since.

I shall devote the sequel of this chapter to a series of extracts from the "Journal of an Expedition into the interior of tropical Australia, in search of a route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria, by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, Surveyor-General of New South Wales; London, 1848." I shall do so for the double purpose of exhibiting the general character and capabilities of the vast extent of country in the interior of Queensland, which is now in progressive and rapid occupation, as pastoral stations for sheep and cattle; but more particularly for the purpose of showing the very peculiar nature of the climate of these regions, and its fitness for the settlement of a European population, notwithstanding the comparatively low latitude of the country thus discovered and traversed by the eminent and talented geographical explorer.

The expedition under Sir Thomas Mitchell started from Sydney on the 15th of December, 1845, and on the 4th of March following, crossed the Darling River into Queensland, in latitude 30° 5′ south, and in about 147½° east longitude. From thence the

course was NNE., through a low, swampy, and afterwards well grassed and occasionally beautiful country up the Narran River, to a place called, by Sir Thomas, St. George's Bridge, in latitude 28° south, and longitude 149° east, nearly. On this route, Sir Thomas discovered and crossed a noble river, called the Balonne, and another, of inferior size, called the Culgoa, which had been previously discovered by Mr. Commissioner Mitchell, one of his sons. The following are notices of the tract of country discovered and traversed on this route :—

"5*th March*, 1846.—The country opened into slight undulations, well clothed with grass, and good for travelling over; the soil being full of the same hard rock found on the rising grounds nearest to the Darling, in the lowest parts of that river explored formerly by me.

"9*th*.—The Narran was full of water everywhere; and with this abundance of water there was also plenty of most excellent grass. The *Panicum lævinode* of Dr. Lindley, seemed to predominate, a grass whereof the seed (Cooly) is made into a kind of paste or bread. Dry heaps of this grass that had been pulled expressly for the purpose of gathering the seed, lay along our path for many miles. I counted nine miles along the river, in which we rode through this grass only, reaching to our saddle-girths; and the same grass seemed to grow back from the river, at least as far as the eye could reach, through a very open forest. I had never seen such rich natural pasturage in any other part of New South Wales.

"31*st*.—I had nearly completed the usual short journey, when we fell in with these natives, but I was unwilling to lose the advantage of their assistance, and so travelled on under their guidance, full five miles further, before I fixed on a spot for the camp. This was by a splendid piece of water, named by them Tooningora, nearly on a level with the adjacent plains, and covered with ducks. We had passed other fine sheets of water, guided by our native friends, and over a rich grassy country, remarkably level and free from scrub.

"7*th April*.—Our journey was continued round an angle of the river [the Balonne] in my horse's track. Afterwards, turning to the north-east, we crossed two miles of open forest land, where the grass was good, and having the river in sight. At length,

even on an easterly course, we could not keep it longer in view, but got involved in a scrub on soft red sand. Emerging from this, on a course of E.S.E., we again got upon open ground, and soon saw the majestic trees of the river in a line circling round to the northward. Coming upon it at an angle, where scrubs of rosewood and *Acacia pendula* crowned the slopes, we encamped on a beautiful spot. The river was magnificent, presenting a body of water of such breadth, as I had only seen in one other river of Australia, and the banks were grassy to the water's edge."

And again, on the return of the expedition from the northern interior, by the Maranoa River, to the westward of the outward route, Sir Thomas writes as follows:—

"*4th November.*—At an early hour we proceeded, and had the satisfaction soon to find our old wheel-tracks along the bank of the majestic Balonne. This truly noble river was here as broad as the Thames at Richmond; its banks were verdant with a luxuriant crop of grass, and the merry notes of numerous birds gave the whole scene a most cheering appearance."

From St. George's Bridge, in lat. 28°, Sir Thomas pursued a N.N.W. course, by the Cogoon River, towards the head waters of the Maranoa River, in lat. 26° and long. 148°. The following are extracts of Sir Thomas's journal on this part of his route:—

"*30th April.*—Obliged to keep at some distance from the river, I came upon open forest land, where gentle undulations took the place of the rugged gullies. Thus we travelled over a beautiful country, due north, with sufficient indications of the river on our right, in the slopes that all fell to that side. There were ponds in some hollows, and we made the river itself at various parts of our route. At length, where it hit on a high scrubby bank, I again proceeded northward, and came upon a large lagoon, sweeping round to S.W. and S.S.W., further than we could see. It had on its surface numerous ducks, and a large encampment of native huts appeared at one end. We encamped by this lagoon in lat. 27° 20′ S.

"*2nd May.*—The country was very fine. These water-courses lay between finely-rounded grassy slopes, with a few trees about the water's edge, marking their various courses at a distance. A considerable breadth of open grassy plain intervened between this river and the woods back from it."

The country had been gradually rising in this part of Sir Thomas's route till it reached an elevation of upwards of 2500 feet above the level of the sea. The temperature also was remarkably different from what should otherwise have been anticipated in these northern regions. Thus, on the 8th May, the first month of the Australian winter, the thermometer (Fahrenheit's), at sunrise, stood at 20°; at noon, 70°; at 4 P.M., 68°; at 9 P.M., 30°. Height above the sea, 1043 feet. Again, on the 12th May, in lat. 26° 30′, the thermometer at sunrise stood at 30°; at noon, 81°; at 4 P.M., 59°; at 9, 52°. Height above the sea, 1168 feet. Again, on the 13th May, the thermometer stood, at sunrise, at 26°; at noon, 75°; at 4 P.M., 64°; at 9 P.M., 43°. Height of camp above the sea, 1226 feet. And on the 24th May, the thermometer at sunrise stood as low as 11°; at noon, 65°; at 4 P.M., 67°; and at 9 P.M., 30°. This great degree of cold will serve to give vigour and energy to the future European inhabitants of these regions, and enable them to bear up against the heats of summer.

From 26° S. lat. and 148° E. long. to 24° S. lat. and 147° 20′ E. long., Sir Thomas's course was N.N.W.; and on this part of his route he crossed over a large extent of mountainous and difficult country, of which the most remarkable features were the great elevation and the great cold during the night. The following are extracts:—

"*8th June.*—The country beyond this camp, in a northerly direction, was very fine. The *Acacia pendula*, open forests, and gently undulating country, intersected by chains of ponds (then dry), were its characteristics. At length we reached the river (Maranoa) bank, and could travel along it to the west. Just there, I perceived the junction of a river (perhaps the main channel) from the W.N.W. It seemed full of water. . . . We thus, at length, came into a fine open grassy country, tolerably level, and could resume a north-west course.

"*17th.*—We at length attained what seemed the highest of these ridges, and on the summit I ascertained its elevation to be 1833 feet above the sea. Thermometer at the camp, at sunrise, 17°, that is 15° below the freezing-point.

"*27th.*—We had now traced, with our wheels, a good way through a country much broken and shut up by sandstone gul-

lies; but which contained also many rich valleys and extensive hilly tracts of trap rock, on which the grass was very luxuriant, apparently available for either sheep or cattle. Immediately to the westward of this camp, an extensive valley was bounded by the fine trap range of Hope's Table Land; which range was open along the summit, and contained springs, in various ravines, along its sides. Thermometer at sunrise 20°; at 9 P. M., 29°. Height above the sea, 2064 feet.

"28*th*.—Severe frost, whenever the sky was clear, seemed the ordinary weather of this country, at that season; showing, as the barometer also indicated, that we were at a great height above the sea.

"5*th July*.—Another frosty night succeeded the day of rain, and froze our tents into boards, not easily to be packed up this morning.

"6*th*.—Travelling along the bank of this stream (in lat. 24° 50′) we found it flowing, and full of sparkling water to the margin. The reeds had disappeared, and we could only account for the supply of such a current, in such a country, at such a season, by the support of many springs. We made sure of water now for the rest of our journey; and that we might say of the river, 'Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.' The hills overhanging it surpassed any I had ever seen in picturesque outline. Some resembled Gothic cathedrals in ruins; others forts; other masses were perforated, and being mixed and contrasted with the flowing outlines of evergreen woods, and having a fine stream in the foreground, gave a charming appearance to the whole country. It was a discovery worthy of the toils of a pilgrimage. These beautiful recesses of unpeopled earth could no longer remain unknown. The better to mark them out on my map, I gave to the valley the name of Salvator Rosa.

"11*th*.—The open down we traversed consisted of rich, black mould, in which there was fossil wood in great abundance, presenting silicified fragments so curiously wooden as to be only distinguishable from wood by their detached and broken character. Such fossils are not uncommon in Australia, on plains of rich, black earth, which is a constant concomitant. Their geological history may be simple, and would probably be very interesting if philosophy could but find it out. We found, fur-

ther on, a channel full of water, with reeds about the bed of it. Thermometer at sunrise, 18°; at 4 P. M., 65°; at 9, 30°.

"14*th*.—Crosssing the river (in lat. 24° 30′), which I called the Claude, we travelled, first, through an open forest, and then across one of the richest plains I had ever seen, and on which the *Anthistiria Australis* and *Panicum lævinode*, the two best Australian grasses, grew abundantly. The soil was black, the surface quite level. There might have been about a thousand acres in the first plain we crossed, ere we arrived at another small river, or water-course, which also contained water. We soon reached the borders of other very extensive plains and open downs, apparently extending far to the eastward. On our left there was a scrub of *Acacia pendula*. The undulating parts of the clear land were not so thickly covered with grass as the plains, not because the soil was bad, but because it was so loose, rich and black, that a sward did not so easily take root and spread upon it, from its great tendency to crack after imbibing moisture, on its subsequent evaporation. All this rich land was thickly strewed with small fragments of fossil wood, in silex, agate, and chalcedony. Many of the stones, as already observed, most strikingly resembled decayed wood, and in one place the remains of an entire trunk lay together like a heap of ruins, the *dilapidated* remains of a tree: I obtained even a portion of petrified bark; but specimens of this were rare. The elevation of the highest part of these downs was 1512 feet above the sea.

"17*th*.—Our ride this morning soon led amongst different scenes. By merely turning to the left we came upon a flat, in which another water-course, similar to that we had been tracing (Balmy Creek) came from the west, apparently out of that inaccessible country, across which I had previously looked in vain for a passage. Several other gullies joined this water-course, and seared the flat, which consisted of deep clay deposit, in almost every direction. After crossing these we found a fine broad opening between rocky precipices of most picturesque forms. This gap I called Stevenson's Pass; it led into a spacious glen surrounded on all sides but the N.W. by mountains such as I have described, recalling to my memory the most imaginative efforts of Mr. Martin's sepia drawing, and showing how far the painter's fancy may anticipate nature. But at the gorge of this

valley there stood a sort of watch-tower, as if to guard the entrance, so like a work of art, that even here, where men and kangaroos were equally wild and artless, I was obliged to look very attentively to be quite convinced that the tower was the work of nature only. A turret with a pointed roof, of a colour corresponding, first appeared through the trees, as if it had been built on the summit of a round hill. On a nearer approach the fine tints of the yellowish-grey rocks, and the small pines climbing the sides of a hill abruptly rising out of a forest of common trees, presented still a very remarkable object. I named the valley 'Glen Turret,' and this feature 'Tower Almond,' after an ancient castle, the scene of many early associations, and now quite as uninhabited as this.

"19*th*.—To the left or westward of that supposed river channel, a mighty isolated mountain mass shut out any view of the further course of the water of the valley formed between it and these slopes; but as the very lowest point of the whole horizon, as indicated by the spirit-level of the theodolite, lay in that direction, I determined to pursue that bearing (10° W. of N.) through the open forest country that intervened. I found that the mountain commanding this view was elevated 2247 feet above the sea. Although we were approaching the tropics, the weather was most cool and pleasant. A delicious breeze played amongst the woods, and welcomed us to the torrid zone. Until now, during every clear night the air had been frosty, latitude 24° 6′ 50″ S. Thermometer at sunrise 34°; at noon 68°; at 4 P.M. 61°; at 9, 47°."

From lat. 24° S., long. 147° 20′ E. to lat. 21½° S., in nearly the same meridian, Sir Thomas Mitchell traced a river which he ascertained from the natives was called the Belyando, for two and a half degrees of latitude to the northward, fondly expecting for a while that it would carry him to the Gulf of Carpentaria, as it pursued a N.N.W. course for a degree and a half of latitude from where he had discovered it; but, finding eventually, to his great disappointment, that in common with various other considerable streams that had joined it from the westward, it found its way to the eastward, towards the Pacific Ocean, he returned to the high land of his outward journey, to make another trial in that

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direction to the westward. The following are extracts from his journal on this part of his route.

"25*th*.—There was no hill or other geographical feature near our route, whereby it might have been possible to mark there the limit of tropical Australia. We were the first to enter the interior beyond that line. Three large kangaroos, hopping across a small plain, were visible, just as we entered these regions of the sun. The air was extremely fragrant; the shrubs and grass being still moist with the thunder shower. The course of the river continued favourable, and the country seemed to improve as we advanced, opening into plains skirted by scrubs of rosewood, and drooping shrubs whose verdure was most refreshing to the eye. Lat. 23° 25′ 26″ S.; thermometer at sunrise 45°; at noon 77°.

"30*th*.—The woods opened into extensive plains covered with wild indigo, as high as a horse's head, and that was skirted by a plain covered with rich grass. Beyond these, we entered an open forest where the arthistiria grew luxuriantly. . . A fine large lagoon covered with ducks, appeared on our right. The whole country was improved both as to grass and trees. Lat. 22° 51′ 55″. Thermometer at sunrise 54°; at noon, 82°; at 4 P.M. 83°; at 9, 45°.

"8*th August*.—I emerged from scrub upon fine open downs covered with a crop of excellent grass. The soil was soft and rich, the grass *Panicum lævinode*. Small clumps of acacias were strewed over these downs, which were very extensive, and from them I saw several rather high hills to the eastward, terminating abruptly over a low country to the northward.

"11*th*.—Crossing this river at a favourable spot near our camp, we travelled on, eleven miles, and encamped early, on a fine reach of the main river. Here I had leisure to lay down my late ride on paper, and to connect it with the map; whereupon I concluded, with much regret, that this river must be either a tributary to, or identical with, that which M. Leichhardt saw joining the Suttor in lat. 21° 6′ S., and which he supposed to come from the west. It had supplied me with water across three degrees of latitude, and had gradually altered its course from N.W. to about 30° E. of N. In my ride I had traced it to 21° 30′ of latitude south, and no high land had appeared, as I expected, to the northward, at all likely to turn its course towards the west. I

found the height of its bed, moreover, to be so little above the sea (not much more than 600 feet) that I could no longer doubt that the division between eastern and western waters was still to the westward. I accordingly determined to retrace our wheel tracks back to the head of the Salvator, and to explore from thence the country to the north-west, as far as our stock of provisions and the season would permit. We had at least laid out a good carriage road from the colony to a river in M. Leichhardt's route; which road, as far as we had marked it with our wheels, led through pastoral regions of much greater extent than all the colonists now occupied. Thermometer at sunrise, 36°; at noon, 71°; at 4 P.M., 70°; at 9, 35°.

"*29th.*—Continuing along the old track, we this day quitted the basin of the Belyando, and ascended those grassy slopes and that range which I had formerly taken to be the watershed of the coast rivers. We thus crossed to the basin of another eastern river, the Nogóa; and in quitting that of the Belyando, I have to observe that, like most other Australian rivers, it maintained a peculiar character throughout its course, with great uniformity, even after it received tributaries apparently larger than itself. All these lapsed into the same concatenated line of ponds; at one place, spreading among brigalow scrub, at another, forming one well-defined deep channel. For the formation of ponds, and the retention of water in so dry a climate, we see here something between the ordinary character of rivers and artificial works which man must construct when population may spread into these regions. Thermometer at sunrise, 39°; at noon, 70°; at 4 P.M., 82°; at 9, 56°.

"*1st September.*—The morning clear and frosty; thermometer 25°. As we proceeded, we crossed a hill quite clear of trees, which commanded a view over an extent of similar country, large enough for a county. The broken summits, just appearing above the placid horizon of undulating downs, had formerly looked like a range to us, and were certainly highly ornamental to the scenery; but no stranger could have supposed these features to have been only the highest parts of such a broken sandstone country as that from which we had just emerged. The plains, or rather I should say downs, for they were nowhere level, but everywhere gently undulating, were first seen in white streaks high

above us, when we first perceived them through the scrubs. These downs consisted of the richest sort of black mould, on which grew luxuriantly *Arthistiria* and *Panicum lævinode*. But the surface in general was loose, resembling that of a field after it had lain long in fallow. Herbs in great variety were just emerging from the recently-watered earth, and the splendid morning did ample justice to the vernal scene. The charm of a beginning seemed to pervade all nature, and the songs of many birds sounded like the orchestral music before the commencement of any theatrical performance. Such a morning, in such a place, was quite incompatible with the brow of care. Here was an almost boundless extent of the richest surface, in a latitude corresponding to that of China, yet still uncultivated and unoccupied by man—a great reserve provided by nature for the extension of his race, where economy, art, and industry might suffice to people it with a peaceful, happy, and contented population. Thermometer at sunrise, 25°; at noon, 67°; at 4 P.M., 73°; at 9, 44°.

"2*nd*.—We recrossed the perfectly level plain formerly mentioned. We found, on reaching the Claude, that our bridge, then made, had been much damaged by a flood. The little river was still running, and it was cheering to learn thus, that rain had fallen at its sources, beyond which I had still much to do. We ascended the undulating downs along our old track, and where many curious specimens of trees in flint lay mixed with the rich, black mould. I observed that no entire sections of trunks were cylindrical, all appearing to have been compressed so as to present a diameter of two to one. I left these beautiful regions with feelings of regret, that the direct route to the Gulf could not be carried through them. I was rather at a loss for names of reference to these parts. I had given the name of Claude to the river, and it occurred to me that the scenery of the Mantuan bard, which this painter has so finely illustrated with pastoral subjects, deserved a congenial name, and that this country might therefore be distinguished by that of the Mantuan Downs and Plains. Thermometer at sunrise, 28°; at noon, 73°; at 4 P.M., 78°; at 9, 47°."

Sir Thomas Mitchell's journey to the north-westward, in search of some river that might disembogue in the Gulf of Carpentaria, commenced near Mount Pluto, a volcanic mountain situated on the

25th parallel of latitude, in about 147° 15′ E. It was one of three volcanic mountains; the other two, which were both on the same meridian a few miles farther west, being Mount Hutton to the northward and Mount Playfair to the southward; the elevation of Mount Pluto being 2420 feet above the level of the sea. From this point, after traversing a tract of very densely wooded and difficult country, Sir Thomas had the satisfaction of discovering a river, which he named the Victoria, and which, as it pursued a north-westerly course, he fondly hoped might realise the great object of his honourable ambition. He pursued this river to lat. 23° 55′ S. and 144° 30′ E., when he was obliged to return from the want of provisions, just in time to save himself the disappointment to which the further prosecution of his discovery would have infallibly subjected him. The following are extracts from his journal on this part of his route:—

"10*th*.—I set out on a fine clear morning, with two men and Yuranigh (a black native of the Bogan district), mounted, and leading two pack-horses carrying my sextant, false horizon, and a month's provisions.

"15*th*.—As soon as daylight appeared I hastened towards the gap (in a mountain ridge) and ascended a naked rock on the west side of it. I there beheld downs and plains extending westward beyond the reach of vision, bounded on the S.W. by woods and low ranges, and on the N.E. by higher ranges; the whole of these open downs declining to the N.W., in which direction a line of trees marked the course of a river traceable to the remotest verge of the horizon. There, I found then, at last, the realisation of my long-cherished hopes, an interior river falling to the N.W. in the heart of an open country extending also in that direction. Ulloa's delight at the first view of the Pacific could not have surpassed mine on this occasion, nor could the fervour with which he was impressed at the moment have exceeded my sense of gratitude, for being allowed to make such a discovery. From that rock, the scene was so extensive as to leave no room for doubt as to the course of the river, which, then and there revealed to me, alone, seemed like a reward direct from heaven for perseverance, and as a compensation for the many sacrifices I had made, in order to solve the question as to the interior rivers of tropical Australia.

"16*th*.—The 'gorgeous curtains of the East' over grandly formed clouds, harmonised well with my sentiments on awaking, again to trace, as if I had been the earliest man, the various features of these fine regions of earth. At 7 A.M. the temperature was 63°; and from observations registered there, the height above the sea has been found to be 1216 feet. Throughout the day we travelled over fine downs and plains covered with the finest grass, having the river on our right . . . flowing as it did through the finest and most extensive pastoral region I had ever seen.

"17*th*.—Towards that point I therefore shaped my course, and there found the river—no longer a chain of dry ponds in brigalow scrub, but a channel shaded by lofty yarra trees, with open grassy banks, and containing long reaches full of water. While cockatoos shrieked above us, ducks floated, or flew about, and columns of smoke began to ascend from the woods before us. This was now, indeed, a river, and I lost no time in following it downwards. The direction was west, then north-west, tolerably straight. Water very abundant in its bed; the breadth was considerable, and the channel was well marked by bold lofty banks. The grass surpassed any I had ever seen in the colony in quality and abundance, lat. 24° 34′ 30″ S.

"22*nd*.—The junction with the northern river took place just below, and I continued my journey, not a little curious to see what sort of a river would be formed by these channels when united. I found the direction of the course to be about N.W. both running nearly parallel. About three miles on I approached the united channel, and found the broad, deep and placid waters of a river as large as the Murray. Pelican and ducks floated upon it, and mussel-shells of extraordinary size lay in such quantities, where the natives had been in the habit of eating them, as to resemble snow covering the ground . . . Beyond that channel lay the almost boundless plains, the whole together forming the finest region I had ever seen in Australia. Two kinds of grass grew on these plains; one of them a brown grass, possessing the remarkable property of shooting up green from the old stalk."

A little earlier, in point of time, than the expedition of Sir Thomas Mitchell into tropical Australia, and of much greater

importance, both in the impulse which they gave to Australian discovery, and in the vast extent of available land which they opened up for the future settlement of a civilised and Christian population, were the discoveries of Dr. Leichhardt, a gentleman of whom I have already made repeated and honourable mention, in the north-western interior of Queensland. In the year 1843, Sir Thomas Mitchell had sketched out the plan of an expedition to Port Essington, on the north coast of Australia, to proceed from Fort Bourke, on the Darling River, in New South Wales, about 600 miles to the westward of Sydney; and the Legislative Council of that colony, having expressed their strong approval of the proposed expedition, memorialised his Excellency, Sir George Gipps, the governor for the time being, to place 1000*l.* upon the estimates for the following year to carry it out. This, however, Sir George, who was then somewhat dissatisfied with the Council, on the ground of certain financial reforms on which it was insisting, very pettishly declined doing, without instructions from Downing Street; and the matter therefore remained in abeyance, very much to the regret and indignation of the colonists, who were all strongly in favour of the expedition, till the requisite instructions arrived from home, and Sir Thomas set out at length on his journey to the northward.

In the mean time, however, Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt, a native of Prussia, who had arrived in New South Wales in the year 1842, in the hope of attaching himself as a naturalist to any expedition of discovery to be undertaken in the interior, and who looked forward to the proposed expedition under Sir Thomas Mitchell, as being likely to realise his hopes, so far from being cast down or disappointed at this unlooked-for result of the recommendation of the Colonial Legislature, was induced to plan a private expedition, under his own guidance, for the accomplishment of the object proposed,—to proceed, however, not by Sir Thomas Mitchell's proposed route, but by Moreton Bay and the western flank of the coast range. The expedition, as finally arranged, consisted of Dr. Leichhardt; Mr. Pemberton Hodgson, a squatter on the Darling Downs; Messrs. Calvert and Roper, two young gentlemen of respectable connections, then recently arrived in

the colony from England; Mr. Gilbert, a naturalist, in the employment of Mr. Gould, the author of the interesting and elegant work entitled "Birds of Australia," who merely joined the expedition for the purpose of adding to his collection; Mr. John Murphy, a son of the late Mayor of Sydney, James Murphy, Esq., who had been a fellow-passenger with Dr. Leichhardt from England; Phillips, a prisoner of the Crown, expecting a free pardon in the event of success; and two aboriginal natives from Bathurst and Hunter's River. Dr. Leichhardt's own pecuniary resources were by no means ample, but he had expended them all in making the necessary preparations for the expedition; and as the colony generally regarded the enterprise as a hopeless undertaking, the assistance he received from the colonial public was extremely limited.

The expedition left Sydney in the month of August, and Moreton Bay in September, 1844; and in the course of the first month, in passing through an extensive and impracticable tract of bricklow or acacia scrub, the whole of the flour was lost, and Mr. Hodgson, the party proving too large, was induced to return to the colony. A few weeks thereafter, a report was brought to the Downs, by certain black natives, that the whole party had been attacked and murdered by a tribe to the northward. This report was almost universally credited, and every person was disposed at the time to give himself extraordinary credit for having actually foreseen and predicted the catastrophe. It occasioned the composition and publication of the following beautiful lines, by Robert Lynd, Esq., barrackmaster, Sydney, the intimate friend of Dr. Leichhardt, to whom the interesting letters written by that gentleman while at Moreton Bay, from which I have made a few extracts in a former chapter of this work, were addressed. In explanation of this affecting tribute of sincere friendship, it may be proper to state, that some doubt having been subsequently thrown upon the report of the black natives, Mr. Hodgson volunteered to ascertain its truth or falsehood, and accordingly collected about 150*l.* in Sydney, to supply the necessary means for the equipment of a party to trace the expedition to the spot where the murder was alleged to have taken place; and it was to this party that the lines were addressed.

LINES ADDRESSED TO THE PARTY PROCEEDING ON THE TRACK OF DR. LEICHHARDT. BY R. LYND, ESQ.

Ye who prepare, with pilgrim feet,
Your long and doubtful path to wend,
If—whitening on the waste—ye meet
The relics of my murder'd friend—
His bones with rev'rence ye shall bear,
To where some mountain streamlet flows:
There, by its mossy bank, prepare
The pillow of his long repose.

It shall be by a stream whose tides
Are drunk by birds of every wing;
Where ev'ry lovelier flower abides
The earliest wak'ning touch of spring!
O meet that he—(who so carest
All-beauteous Nature's varied charms)—
That he—her martyr'd son—should rest
Within his mother's fondest arms!

When ye have made his narrow bed,
And laid the good man's ashes there,
Ye shall kneel down around the dead,
And wait upon your God in prayer.
What though no reverend man be near—
No anthem pour its solemn breath—
No holy walls invest his bier
With all the hallow'd pomp of death!

Yet humble minds shall find the grace,
Devoutly bow'd upon the sod,
To call that blessing round the place
Which consecrates the soil to God.
And ye the wilderness shall tell
How—faithful to the hopes of men—
The Mighty Power he served so well,
Shall breathe upon his bones again!

When ye your gracious task have done,
Heap not the rock above his dust!
The Angel of the Lord alone
Shall guard the ashes of the just!
But ye shall heed, with pious care,
The mem'ry of that spot to keep;
And note the marks that guide me where
My virtuous friend is laid to sleep!

For oh! bethink—in other times,
(And be those happier times at hand,)
When science, like the smile of God—
Comes bright'ning o'er that weary land!
How will her pilgrims hail the power,
Beneath the drooping myall's gloom,
To sit at eve, and mourn an hour,
And pluck a leaf on Leichhardt's tomb!

Sydney Barracks, July 2nd, 1845.

Mr. Hodgson having accordingly formed his party, proceeded a considerable distance to the northward on Dr. Leichhardt's track. And although the result of this expedition, of which the other members do not appear to have had the requisite confidence in the judgment and experience of their leader, was by no means satisfactory, it ascertained that Dr. Leichhardt and his party had at least passed in safety the spot where they were all reported to have been murdered by the blacks. Still, however, as no tidings were heard of the party during the whole of the year 1845, the general impression was that they had either been murdered by the black natives a few degrees farther to the northward, or had perished of hunger or thirst in the interior of Australia. Mr. Lynd's verses were, in the mean time, set to music by Mr. Nathan, a talented composer in Sydney; and colonial sentimentalism, which had left the traveller and his party to be provisioned and accoutred as they might for their perilous expedition, nevertheless shed many a tear over LEICHHARDT'S GRAVE.

At length, on the 25th of March, 1846, the city of Sydney was electrified at the sudden apparition of Dr. Leichhardt and his party (with the single exception of Mr. Gilbert, the naturalist, who had unfortunately been speared by the natives at the south-eastern head of the Gulf of Carpentaria), direct from Port Essington; having accomplished the grand object of their expedition, and thereby achieved, with the scantiest means and with consummate ability, an exploit scarcely paralleled in the annals of geographical discovery. To traverse with so small a party and so inadequate an equipment, a country hitherto untrodden by civilised man—to traverse that country during fifteen months successively, for a distance of nearly 3000 miles—a country, moreover, inhabited by fierce barbarians, and subject alternately to distressing droughts and terrific inundations—the heroism of the enterprise can only be equalled by its brilliant success. Dr. Leichhardt virtually added, by his expedition, a vast and valuable province to the British Empire, and greatly extended the domain of civilised man. The real benefits and advantages of his discoveries can scarcely as yet even be either felt or appreciated; but inasmuch as they have opened up a boundless extent of pastoral country to the northward and westward, they will be felt and appreciated in the first instance by the colonists of Queensland.

Shortly after the return of Dr. Leichhardt and his party, a public meeting was held in Sydney, at which I had the honour of proposing the following resolution, which was carried with acclamation, viz. :—

"That the grateful thanks of this colony are due to Dr. Leichhardt and his party, for the eminent services they have rendered, not only to the colony, but to the cause of science and civilisation generally throughout the world, in their successful expedition to Port Essington; and that in testimony of this feeling on the part of the colonists, a subscription be commenced on behalf of Dr. Leichhardt and his party."

The call which was thus addressed to the colonial public of New South Wales was nobly responded to; upwards of 2000*l.* having been subscribed and paid by the colonists to the Leichhardt Testimonial. A motion had also been made in the Legislative Council, recommending the Government to place 1000*l.*, on the supplementary estimate for 1846, as a further donation from the public treasury; but the Colonial Secretary having signified, on the part of the Governor, his Excellency's willingness to grant the amount proposed from the Land Fund, a fund over which the Council had no control, the motion was withdrawn, that Dr. Leichhardt might have the thanks of the House presented to him by the Speaker from the chair, and the grant from the Land Fund was paid accordingly.

There is one circumstance in which Dr. Leichhardt's expedition was remarkably different from all previous expeditions of discovery in Australia. It did not result, like all that had preceded it, in an attempt to confer unmerited immortality on a number of obscure individuals, who had no other title to distinction than that of holding clerkships or other subordinate colonial appointments under the authorities of Downing Street. There *were* official people in New South Wales, who felt not a little soreness on this private account, amid the general rejoicings, and Dr. Leichhardt's departure from an old-established rule, as well as his actual nomenclature, was made the subject of unfriendly criticism in various quarters. But Dr. Leichhardt had received no favours, for which to be thankful at the time, in these quarters; and he was of too manly a spirit to resort to such a mode of obtaining them in future. There were also a few private individuals who had ren-

dered him assistance in his day of small things, and whose claims on his grateful remembrance he was of too generous a nature to forget; and he had also a few private friends, who, although unable to contribute more, comparatively, to the expedition, than the donation of the celebrated Mungo Park, when he gave a hospitable negro woman the last two brass buttons of his waistcoat for a night's board and lodging in the interior of Africa, wished well to his undertaking, and bid him God speed. I had the honour to be of the latter number; and I was accordingly quite as much taken with surprise at finding myself bound in basalt for the future in a conspicuous mountain far within the tropics, which he named after me, as most of the government officers of the colony were at finding no memorial of themselves in Dr. Leichhardt's journal.*

Dr. Leichhardt—to whom about five eighths of the sums contributed respectively by the public and the government of New South Wales were very properly allotted—was not likely to receive this boon without endeavouring at least to prove that, as it had been well-merited, so it was well-bestowed. Having ascertained, in the course of his memorable expedition, that the great watershed of New Holland, which separates the waters flowing to the northward into the Gulf of Carpentaria, from those flowing towards the Great Southern Ocean, is nearly coincident with the southern tropic, he started again with a fresh expedition in the year 1847, to cross the continent, if possible, from east to west, on that parallel of latitude, and, if successful, to fall down upon the colony of Swan River or Western Australia. From that expedition, I lament exceedingly to say, he never returned.

Dr. Leichhardt's discoveries were made principally in a tract, or rather tracts of country which, although at present in progressive and rapid occupation by the flocks and herds of the squatters, will not be reached for many years to come by the tide of emigra-

* The following are the very flattering terms which Dr. Leichhardt uses on the occasion:—

"*May 5th.*—I went with Charley to reconnoitre the upper part of the Reedy Brook, with a view to find a passage over the table lands to the westward. . . . . We followed it through a series of plains, from one of which a blue mountain was visible to the north-west. I called it 'Mount Lang,' after Dr. Lang, the distinguished historiographer of New South Wales."—*Leichhardt's Journal*, p. 243.

tion. Without deeming it necessary therefore to give even an outline of these discoveries, which, in order to be intelligible, would extend to too great a length, I may safely state that the two expeditions of Sir Thomas Mitchell and Dr. Leichhardt, not only added virtually a vast extent of available territory, of the most valuable description, to the British Empire, but augmented the resources of Queensland to a wonderful degree, and opened up a highly promising field for the future settlement of an industrious and virtuous European population in that noble colony.

CHAP. V.

THE NORTHERN SETTLEMENTS—WIDE BAY, PORT CURTIS AND ROCKHAMPTON.

THE principal settlements, or rather districts, to the northward of Moreton Bay, are Wide Bay, Port Curtis and Rockhampton; for although there are now many squatting stations much farther north, and new settlements in course of formation along the coast in that direction, the intending emigrant will in all likelihood confine his attention, at least in the first instance, to those I have enumerated.

Wide Bay, of which the entrance is in 26° south latitude nearly, is formed, like Moreton Bay, by an island called Frazer's, or Great Sandy, Island, lying parallel to the coast-line; and, as in Moreton Bay, there are two entrances or approaches to the harbour or roadstead,—the southern, which is a barred entrance, although generally practicable at high water, for coasting vessels and steamers of moderate draught, and the northern, by Hervey's Bay, which is practicable at all times, for the largest vessels. A navigable river, called the Mary, disembogues in Wide Bay, or rather the sound formed by the island, about thirty-five miles from the southern entrance, and the principal town of the district, called Maryborough, to which there are steam vessels plying regularly from Sydney to Brisbane, is situated thirty miles up the river. The river is navigable for laden boats, or smaller steamers, thirty miles higher, there being a rise and fall of tide in the Mary of from eight to eleven feet. The Mary has also two navigable tributaries, called Tinana and the Salt Water Creek. The town of Maryborough has a population of 800 inhabitants, and has applied to be incorporated under the Colonial Municipalities Act.

The following notice of the physical character and capabilities of this district is extracted from an article on the subject communicated a few years since to one of the colonial journals, by John Purser, Esq., recently President of the Wide Bay Cotton-Growing Association:—

"There is backwards an area of country suitable for grazing purposes, almost unlimited in extent. The land on the banks of the river consists of scrub land and alluvial flats, comprising some millions of acres for agricultural purposes, capable of producing wheat, oats, barley, hay, sugar, cotton, and tobacco. Maize grows most luxuriantly, and may be cultivated successfully all through the year. Some short time ago, at Widgee, the property of Messrs. Tooth, of Sydney, two acres of land produced thirty bushels of wheat to the acre, under the care of Mr. W. Taylor, at that time superintendent on the station.

"On the banks of the river, pine and cedar grow in great abundance, the cedar being of particularly good quality.

"Coal, iron, copper, and gold have been found; and the district is pronounced by persons competent to give an opinion, to possess indications of a highly metalliferous character.

"The river abounds with fish of excellent quality, and of great variety. Pearls have been frequently obtained from mussels in the fresh-water creeks.

"The pearl oyster is known to exist in the bay; the bêche-la-mer has been also met with; turtles abound, of great size; the dugong, the oil from which at present is in such repute as a specific, is frequently seen, and might be made a source of considerable profit to any party of enterprising men who would devote themselves to the business of obtaining them.

"But above all, agriculture would flourish if we had the necessary population. Almost every vegetable has been found to grow; green peas, turnips, potatoes, may be mentioned among European vegetation; while yams, sweet potatoes, and the vegetation of a more tropical kind, luxuriate. Fruits, in great variety, may be produced. I need only enumerate peaches, custard apples, oranges, grapes, pines, bananas, and guavas. It will thus be seen that almost everything that may be wished for can be produced within the district; the climate

being so favourable to vegetation, that throughout the year there have always been fine growing showers experienced."

In a letter, of date Maryborough, 30th October, 1860, Mr. Purser adds:—"We have room and profitable employment for any amount of population. Thousands of acres of the richest land lie idle for want of people to till them—and any efforts which may be made in the cause of emigration will not only lay the district under great obligations, but will confer one of the greatest conceivable boons on the agricultural population of Britain.

"In cotton, as you are aware, much is likely to be done. Tobacco strikes me as affording a wide field for cultivation; when we consider the wealth it creates in America, and the inability of the Americans to supply the markets of the world efficiently, there can be no doubt of the profit that would attend its successful cultivation here. Now, I believe I am within the mark when I say that we could produce as good or better tobacco than most parts of America, and the plant grows most luxuriantly: the only drawback is want of population."

The following is an extract from the communication of another resident of the district:—

"The soil on the banks of the river Mary and its tributary creeks is excellent, and in large quantities; its producing capabilities I will illustrate by what I have seen. In one piece of ground I have seen growing in perfection, the sugar-cane, cotton plant, grass cloth plant, arrowroot, Tuscan wheat, yams, sweet potatoes, cassava, custard apples, pine apples, banana, guava, and many other tropical productions; alongside of which I have seen turnip, wheat, barley, mangel wurzel, English potatoes, artichokes (Jerusalem), broad beans, maize, &c. I have also seen, within the past five weeks, at the same place, a crop of maize (which was estimated to yield from eighty to a hundred bushels to the acre), fully cobbed and in a forward state of ripening, and can assert from my own knowledge, that from the same piece of ground three crops of maize have been gathered within the twelve months. The same feat has been done by a person residing within twenty miles from the township; and more, he obtained three crops of English potatoes from another piece of

ground within twelve months. Wheat has been only grown in small patches—each time, however, with success."

A correspondent of the "Moreton Bay Courier" also writes as follows, of date September 12, 1860:—

"A vessel drawing seventeen feet of water may be brought with safety by the north entrance, and loaded at the wharf in the town of Maryborough. This, with a soil and climate not surpassed in the world, will eventually realise Maryborough as a large and important city. In no place that I know of has nature been more beneficent or conferred a greater number of varied advantages. Gardening weather has been favourable. A few days ago there were exhibited four pine apples, then cut, which averaged in weight, 4½ lbs. each, the largest, weighing $5\frac{3}{16}$ lbs., was 16½ inches in circumference, and $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. A very much larger and finer pine apple is now growing in the same garden from which the above were cut, and will be ripe in a week or two. It must be remembered that these have been growing through the winter (the severest ever known here for twelve years), and were neither covered nor protected. Some fine specimens of yams have also been exhibited from the same place. There was, from another garden, gathered three weeks ago, a splendid crop of maize, which yielded about ninety to a hundred bushels to the acre, and which, in quality, could not be surpassed in the world; also some fine white turnips. In another some magnificent celery in full perfection may be seen, and the common potatoe is now being dug in perfection, irrespective of many other vegetables and fruits.

"The particulars of climate I give from a resident at the township of Maryborough for the period of twelve years; who declares his own health and the health of his wife and children to have been excellent, and better than he or they ever had before; that he had never experienced a hot wind in the place, and that the sudden changes of temperature felt in Sydney are never felt in this favoured locality; that the showers are regular and abundant, more so than in any other place he has been in in this colony; hence the extraordinary growth of vegetables, &c.

"Eight months in the year not a finer climate can be found in the world, and the remaining, being summer months, are not so oppressive in their effects, from the temperature being more

uniform, and the purity of the atmosphere so great. The party named declares that he has, upon his occasional visits, experienced the heat in Sydney much more oppressive. Mosquitos and sand-flies are troublesome, and until the country is more cleared they are likely to continue. Great natural capabilities exist in the township for the formation of dams, at a trifling expense, which would collect large bodies of water. Minerals, consisting of gold, copper, iron and coal have been procured in several places in the district. Timber exists; cedar, cowrie, and hoop pine, a white hazelwood known as flindersia, gums, dye-woods, and other most valuable cabinet woods are to be found in great abundance. The dugong is found in large numbers in Hervey's Bay, from which the famed oil is manufactured; also the pearl oyster and sea-slugs."

I have already alluded to the existence of a Cotton-Growing Association in this district. The following is an account of its origin and formation, communicated to one of the Queensland journals, of date, Wide Bay, November 9, 1859:—

"MARYBOROUGH AND WIDE BAY COTTON-GROWING ASSOCIATION. —A public meeting was held on Saturday evening, 5th instant, at the Court-house, Maryborough, for the purpose of considering the advisability of at once forming a Cotton-Growing Association in this district. Mr. James Buchanan, district surveyor, occupied the chair. The meeting attracted considerable interest, and was numerously attended. The chairman briefly explained the objects of the meeting, and called on Mr. James King, the proposed manager, who read to the meeting a very elaborate paper on cotton-growing, and the benefits which cotton cultivation would confer on Queensland generally — quoting largely from recognised authorities on the subject, viz.: Dr. Lang, Edwin Hickey, Esq., of Osterley, Hunter's River, and others, to prove the practicability of producing this valuable article of export in large quantities, and with large profits, in this extensive district, so admirably suited both by soil and climate for its unlimited cultivation. In illustration of what may be done, Mr. King pointed to the Southern States of America, whose rapid progress in wealth and importance had altogether arisen from the cultivation of the cotton plant, but which were neither by soil nor climate so well adapted for this valuable production as the new colony of

Queensland. He also adverted to the fact of cotton having been grown to perfection both to the north and south of Maryborough. At Brisbane, in the botanical gardens, under the able superintendence of Mr. Walter Hill, who has grown cotton there at the rate of 680 lbs. per acre during the last two seasons, which was valued in England at least at 2*s*. 3*d*. per lb., thus yielding 76*l*. 10*s*. per acre; and at Port Curtis, Mr. Sloman had, by his energy and persevering exertions, succeeded in producing different sorts of very valuable cotton, which have been highly approved of by the Manchester Cotton Supply Association. Some two and a half bales of cotton from Mr. Sloman's plantation sent to Sydney this season were sold by Messrs. Mort & Co. at public auction, and realized 6¼*d*. per lb. in the seed, being fully equal to 2*s*. 1*d*. per lb. for clean cotton; besides saving the expense of ginning, thus yielding at the rate of 70*l*. 16*s*. per acre. These facts were held by the speakers to be ample proof of the profitable nature of the undertaking; and the results of the experiments on either side proved incontestibly that the Wide Bay district possessed the natural advantages of climate, while its soil was peculiarly adapted for the successful cultivation of the cotton plant; the only requirements being capital and energy to make it one of the best and most productive cotton grounds in the world. Mr. King then laid before the meeting plans for the formation of an Association to be called the Maryborough and Wide Bay Cotton-Growing Association, capital 3,000*l*., in 600 shares of 5*l*. each. He estimates the profits would pay a dividend on shares of about 75 per cent. per annum. The Association to be under the management of a Board of Directors chosen by the shareholders; 100 acres of land to be purchased, and operations to be commenced forthwith. At the close of the address a vote of thanks was given by acclamation to Mr. King for his spirited exertions in bringing the matter forward. The formation of an Association on the plan proposed was unanimously decided on, and shares to the amount of upwards of 1000*l*. were at once applied for. The meeting then resolved itself into a provisional committee of the whole, and agreed to adjourn till Friday evening, the 11*th* instant, for the purpose of electing a Board of Directors, and transacting other necessary business."

During the first visit of his Excellency Sir G. F. Bowen, to

Wide Bay, in the month of October, 1860, the chairman and members of the Cotton-Growing Association presented an address to his Excellency, in which they express themselves as follows:—

"We respectfully hope your Excellency will accept our thanks for the interest you have shown in the progress of our undertaking, and for the liberal views you have so kindly expressed relative to the introduction of this new branch of industry into the colony. We trust that the inauguration of your government, will not only mark a new era in our history, but will give such an impetus to agricultural and commercial pursuits as that in a few years Queensland will become a rich, populous, and flourishing country."

The following are extracts from his Excellency's reply:—

"You have rightly attributed to me the most lively and sincere interest in this important work which your association has undertaken. . . . The success of your enterprise will confer vast and permanent benefits both on the mother-country and this colony;—indeed on the whole human race, if the cultivation of cotton by free labour in Australia should prove (as it is confidently expected it will prove), a heavy discouragement to slavery in America. The particular adaptation of the soil and climate of this part of Australia to the growth of the most valuable description of this plant—the Sea Island cotton—has long been a fact removed from all doubt by frequent and successful experiments; and the demand in England, now supplied to the value of above thirty millions sterling, by American slave labour, is practically insatiable.

"I trust that the facilities and encouragement afforded to the growth of cotton by a recent Act of the Legislature, will have a favourable result. You may rest assured that no efforts shall be wanting on my part to promote the views of your company."

His Excellency concluded by reading the following extract from a speech recently delivered at Manchester by T. Bazley, Esq., the representative for that city in the Imperial Parliament; and one of the highest authorities on all subjects connected with cotton. "'About five years ago a few bags of Moreton Bay cotton were shipped to Liverpool; and I saw at once that with such vastly superior cotton, yarn could be produced finer than any that could be manufactured in India or Great Britain. I bought that cotton,

carried it to Manchester, and spun it into exquisitely fine yarn. I found that the weavers of Lancashire could not produce a fabric from it, it was so exceedingly delicate; the weavers of Scotland could not weave it; nor could even the manufacturers of France weave this yarn into fine muslin. It occurred to me to send it to Calcutta; and in due time I had the happiness of receiving from India some of the finest muslin ever manufactured, the produce of the skill of the Hindoos with this delicate Australian cotton. At the Paris Exhibition some of this muslin was placed in the same glass case with a large golden nugget from Australia, and the two attracted much attention. The soil and climate of Queensland are capable of producing, with proper care, 600 pounds yearly per acre of this exquisitely fine cotton. Two crops could be grown each year. I value this cotton at 1*s.* 3*d.* per pound, which would be equal to 40*l.* per acre. This is no over estimate, for I have recently given 1*s.* 8*d.* per pound for Australian cotton. Now 40*l.* per acre is an enormous yield for any agricultural product, and I do not think such a profitable return could be obtained in any other country. Judging by what is done in the United States, a man with his family in Queensland could cultivate ten acres of land, which would yield 400*l.* per annum—a very high rate of profit.'"

The capital of the company, I may add, has been increased at a recent meeting of the shareholders, from 3000*l.* to 5000*l.*, by the creation of four hundred additional shares; and the company is now in vigorous operation. But whether the production of cotton can be more successfully pursued by a joint-stock company or by individual proprietors, each working on his own account, is a problem that still remains to be solved.

About forty miles south-east of Maryborough there is a beautiful lake, or rather series of lakes, extending southward parallel to the coast-line, of which the following notice is extracted from the communication of an intelligent correspondent of the "Wide Bay and Burnett Times," a weekly journal published at Maryborough:—

"The fresh-water lake discovered by Lieutenant Bligh in the neighbourhood of the Carroora Mountains, is a large sheet of water about four miles in width by about seven in length, situated on the coast, at the back of Laguna Bay, and about forty miles

south-east from Maryborough, from which town there is good and easy travelling. The native name of this lake is Illandra. Adjoining it to the southward, and connected with it, is a similar sheet of water, but of a larger area, the native name of which is Cootharbah; this lake communicates with the sea through Laguna Bay.

"The rise of tide is about two feet. The country surrounding these lakes is very level, and appears in general to be good agricultural country, intersected by patches of wallom flats and tea-tree swamps. At the back, and at an average distance of about eight miles, the ranges commence, forming the eastern watershed of the Mary. These ranges are of easy inclination, and are well grassed to their summits, and tolerably open, except in the gullies, which are invariably scrubby. The principal timber is Kauri, of large growth, and it stands thicker on the ground than in any scrubs I have seen on the Mary.

"To agriculturists and farmers this locality opens an inviting field; and from the beauty and diversity of the surrounding scenery would form a delightful locality for a settlement, within easy distance of the metropolis.

"The aborigines informed me that further south again there are two other lakes of similar appearance, and forming a continuous chain, but I had no time to verify the statement."

About a hundred miles to the westward of Maryborough, and about two hundred and twenty miles from Brisbane, is situated, on the Burnett River, the rising town of Gayndah, the headquarters of a police district, which, in the year 1858,—for I have no later accounts of it,—contained a population, consisting chiefly of squatters and their dependents, of 1039. The range of mountains in which the Burnett River takes its rise, attains an elevation of nearly 2000 feet, and is well fitted for sheep pasture.

I have already observed that his Excellency, Sir George Bowen, had visited the district of Wide Bay and the town of Maryborough in the month of October last. The following is an extract of the address presented to his Excellency on the occasion by the inhabitants:—

"The fact of your Excellency taking such an early opportunity of visiting the various northern towns and districts, and making yourself personally acquainted with them, gives us an earnest of

the impartial and large-minded principles by which we shall in future be governed, and which we hope will tend to make Queensland, what she must inevitably sooner or later become—a great and flourishing country."

In his Excellency's reply is the following paragraph:—

"My stay at Maryborough on the present occasion is necessarily limited in length by circumstances over which I have no control. But I hope before long to return and to devote some considerable time to the examination of the varied resources of this beautiful and fertile district."

To the northward of Wide Bay, in latitude 23° 52′ S., is situated Port Curtis and the town of Gladstone. The port, which is formed by an island of irregular form, called Facing Island, off the coast, is universally regarded as one of the very best on the east coast of Australia. "The harbour of Port Curtis," says a writer in one of our colonial journals, "is beautiful in the extreme—large and with few shoals, perfectly land-locked, and capable of sheltering very many vessels, and these of large tonnage." On the western side of it, on a projection of the mainland, called Auckland Point, is built the town of Gladstone, which, including Happy Valley, an agreeable spot about a mile inland from Gladstone, has not as yet more than about five hundred inhabitants. The town includes two hotels, two or three stores, a blacksmith's shop, and the other buildings of an incipient *city*, which all confidently anticipate it will ere long become. "This," says one of its oldest inhabitants, "is a noble port—no bar at the entrance or anywhere. All the Great Easterns in the world could come in here at any time of tide, day or night. The entrance is good and straight up, for eleven or twelve miles, *to the city that is sure to be.*" And again, "Port Curtis is one of the most magnificent ports in the South Seas, and the most happily situated for beauty, salubriousness of its climate, and gentleness of temperature; always having its cool, gentle sea breeze all the year through, so that it is never too hot or too cold, and the most healthy in the whole of this country, to my certain knowledge, for I have lived all over the country, and particularly all along the coast, for the last thirty years and more; and have lived here now for the last four years and upwards. Yet it has peculiarities and very precarious seasons. The heaviest floods here do no mischief, they

disappear as soon as the rain ceases; and in a day or two you would not think there had been anything like a flood. The grass is always green and plentiful in two or three days after ever so long a drought; all the shores of the harbour, and the roads are clean directly. The whole place is composed of strong earth, very fruitful, but there is no dependence on a season, and seldom any rain in spring.

"I have just returned from a visit to my little cotton plantation, which I have not been able to go near since last Wednesday, from the flood; and to my very great and agreeable surprise, found it very little injured, although the water has rushed through it in every direction for the last three days and nights in heavy torrents. But it is not easy to wash away the soil of a three-year-old cotton field; the roots fill the whole of the ground into quite a sort of net-work. I think I never saw anything grow so much in my life as the cotton trees have done for the last month, and I fully expect a very heavy second crop, if the weather keeps fine the next four or five months. The trees are very heavily loaded, and as they keep expanding all the season, they get very heavy with large pods in a short time, and require to be kept continually picked. The cotton flower only opens one day, it shuts up at night and drops off the next day; so that all the season, which lasts here nine months out of the twelve, there is a fresh field of the richest yellow flowers in the world, for I hold the well cultivated Sea Island cotton flower to be one of the handsomest flowers in the world."

The inhabitants of the town of Gladstone and district of Port Curtis presented a congratulatory address to his Excellency the Governor on his first visit to the northern settlements. The following is an extract from the address:—

"We hail your Excellency's personal examination of the natural advantages held out to trade and commerce by our harbour, and the facilities to navigation which surround it, as a promise that the bounties of nature in this respect will not long pass unappreciated, or unaided by the efforts of your government to make them available to the colony at large.

"We desire also to point out to your Excellency, that in addition to the advantages for trade and commerce above alluded to, this locality possesses a climate of unrivalled salubrity, and one

well calculated to maintain a large population in more than even this favoured country's average degree of healthiness."

His Excellency's reply contains the following appropriate complimentary allusions:—

"The beauty of the scenery around your town, and the excellence of its harbour — almost unrivalled on the eastern coasts of Australia — render it worthy of the eloquent statesman whose name it bears [Mr. Gladstone], and who first projected a settlement on the shores of Port Curtis."

The river Boyne falls into Port Curtis at its southern extremity, and the Calliope at its northern. Mr. Surveyor M'Cabe, who was stationed professionally in this district, in the year 1853, states, in a letter to the Deputy Surveyor-General of the period on its character and capabilities:—"I was rather more than six miles up it in a boat. There is a bar at its entrance from the harbour, with a strong running tide. It is from a hundred to a hundred and fifty yards wide, as far as I was up it. The land on either side of it is of a most superior description, thinly timbered, and well adapted for agricultural purposes. I should have proceeded further up it, only I was stopped by pebbly shoals, three of which I had already encountered in the short distance named.

"There is a rise and fall of tide in the river of quite four feet, as indicated by the appearance of the gneiss and hornblende rocks, which project from its banks in huge masses. I could, therefore, have proceeded further up by awaiting the tides; but I had accomplished the principal object I had in view, namely, the finding out of accessible land for laying out farms in a situation not likely to be interfered with by the approach to Gladstone of the future main road from Wide Bay, and the interior of this part of the country.

"When I landed, fresh water was found in abundance in a deep creek, a short distance back from the river."

In the year 1855, a Select Committee of the late Legislative Council of New South Wales was appointed to take evidence on the condition and prospects of the Port Curtis district generally; and the Government resident of the period, now the Honourable M. C. O'Connell, Esq., President of the Legislative Council of Queensland, was called to give evidence on the subject. Being asked

as to the character of the tract of country which had very judiciously been reserved for agricultural settlement to the extent of twenty miles round the port, that gentleman replies —

"In my opinion, it is as good a tract, for its size, as you could find in all New South Wales.

"The whole belt?—No; the intermixture is as fair an average tract of country as you could find in New South Wales.

"If small capitalists went there as cultivators of the soil, would they have as fair a prospect of success there as in other places, when the ordinary impediments which new comers always have were removed?—No doubt.

"Comparing the settled parts of New South Wales with the country twenty miles round Port Curtis, what is your opinion of it?—I think, as regards its pastoral capabilities, it is quite equal; and as to its agricultural, it is superior, with this exception, that there are more ridges; there is more broken, hilly country in proportion.

"By the Chairman: How is the country watered, generally speaking, as far as you have penetrated?—As far as I can judge, very fairly. The Boyne is a fine river; the Calliope, at the head of it, is a fresh-water river; between it and Port Curtis there are fine large lagoons; and, it seems to me, the country is as well watered as we usually find it in New South Wales.

"What is the geological formation of the country; what is the description of rock or stone there?—In the immediate neighbourhood of Gladstone, for about seven or eight miles, it seems to be composed of granite and clay slate; beyond that comes a belt of limestone country; a fine red soil based upon limestone, that is to say, marble. There is a beautiful country about and beyond Stowe. Of the portions I have not seen, I have heard a very high reputation; at least the person who has occupied it says it is equal to the best part of Darling Downs, and that, in a squatter's estimation, is giving it the highest character."

Captain O'Connell sums up his evidence with the following statement:—

"My opinion of the future progress of Gladstone is, that it will be one of the most important cities on the eastern coast of Australia. I think, from its geographical position, it will be the outlet of a very large back country, and that a trade from thence

will be opened with New Caledonia and the East Indies. Horses will be more readily shipped from thence than from any other part of New South Wales to India; and a large trade may be established from the interior, as far as the Maranoa district. It will be the outlet for the produce of the country to that distance, I think."

Towards the close of the year 1857, a great sensation was produced, not only in New South Wales, but in all the neighbouring colonies, by the reported discovery of large deposits of gold, in the district of Port Curtis. The locality indicated as the place in which the precious metal was to be found in abundance, was Canoona, to the northward of the Fitzroy River, about a hundred miles north of Gladstone. In the course of a few months thereafter, the gold mania had affected multitudes, both of the mining population at all the existing diggings, and even of the more staid inhabitants of the colonial towns; and the result was a general rush to Canoona from all parts of the Australian colonies. From a return presented to the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, and ordered to be printed on the 24th November, 1858, which the reader will find in the Appendix, marked C, and which he will no doubt regard as a curiosity of its kind, it appears that there had then been upwards of six thousand arrivals in the port of Rockhampton,—to so great an extent had the mania affected the colonial population! But the extraordinary excitement was soon followed by a corresponding depression; for although it is still confidently maintained that there is an extensive auriferous region in that part of the Australian territory*, the great majority of the diggers never gave the country a fair trial, but returned for the most part to Sydney or Melbourne, not unfrequently in the very vessels in which they had made their

* "This feeling of hope in the ultimate success of this country as a gold-field, is very much more widely extended than would be believed after the numerous scenes of disappointment and panic that we have beheld. Many of those who have left here, some of them old diggers who have worked over the diggings of New South Wales as well as of Victoria, have assured me that they were certain gold would be discovered here some day; and on my asking why they left, they answered that the some day would probably be a very distant one; and that they had no means of hanging it out till then, even if they were inclined to lose their time."—Correspondent of the "Sydney Herald," Rockhampton, November, 1858.

outward voyage, after wasting much valuable time and expending a very large amount of money.*

But, calamitous as this result proved to many of the gold-miners, it has been of the utmost benefit, in a great variety of ways, to the colony of Queensland, and has served to develope the capabilities and resources of an important section of that country, to an extent that would otherwise not have been realised for many years. It has proved to the satisfaction of multitudes in all the neighbouring colonies, the perfect salubrity of the climate, notwithstanding the comparatively low latitude of the country. It has revealed to thousands the existence of a vast extent of the finest land imaginable, for all the purposes of man, in that portion of the Australian territory; and it has led to the occupation and settlement of a country which, in all likelihood, would otherwise have lain waste and unoccupied for years to come. In a letter to the colonial secretary of New South Wales, of date 11th July, 1859, only a few months before the final separation of Queensland, Captain O'Connell writes as follows:—

"The first blaze of excitement, consequent on the discovery of gold, with its attendant inrush of population, having died away, there succeeded to it a slumbering fire of expectation, which has alternately threatened once more to burst out into flame, and then with a greater or less interval of time has again sunk into almost total extinction, so that it has only been within the last four weeks I have been enabled to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to the probable development to the colonisation of this portion of New South Wales, which the events I have alluded to above are likely to give rise to.

"There are, however, at the present time, symptoms making

* Very many of the diggers who had gone to Canoona, were unable to meet the cost of their return voyage to Sydney or Melbourne, and many more landed penniless in these cities; and the Government and the public were consequently obliged to interfere for their relief. "I have been credibly informed," says the correspondent of the "Sydney Herald," whom I have just quoted, "that the Victorian Government have paid the passages to Melbourne of over 2000 persons, the expense having been 9*l.* 10*s.* per head. In addition to this, a large number of rations have been issued, so that the Fitzroy rush will cost the Melbourne Government a very pretty sum." Upwards of 1700*l.* was contributed at the same time by the public of New South Wales, to which the Government added a similar amount, to enable any of the returned diggers that chose to do so to proceed to the different gold-fields of New South Wales.

themselves apparent, which indicate a great impulse given to the permanent pastoral occupation of the country; and there are, lately, discoveries of gold in fresh localities which promise to be equally attractive to mining operations.

"The present condition of this settlement is indicative of greater prosperity than has at any time characterised its previous history; the impulse given to its growth by the events of last year having fostered and increased all species of industrial occupation in a much more remarkable degree than had been done before.

"Nor is the prospect of continued increase in the pastoral occupation of the country without great encouragement at the present moment. During the present year, a great and beneficial change has come over the progress of this important interest. Unoccupied runs to the northward have suddenly acquired a high value, many settlers from Port Phillip—having been convinced either by their own observation, or from the reports of those who had visited it last year, of the value of the country for pastoral purposes—have acquired properties in it; and altogether, there is said to be, at the present moment, at least one hundred thousand sheep arrived, or arriving, to occupy country to the northward of the Fitzroy. The counties of Pelham and Raglan also to the westward of Port Curtis, have this year for the first time been taken up; and this occupation will fill a gap which has hitherto very injuriously existed between the coast and the stations of the western and south-western interior.

"At the same time that this extension of pastoral occupation has begun to make itself apparent, there has likewise been a discovery of further deposits of gold in a locality hitherto untried, about fifty miles to the westward of Port Curtis.

"I believe that no portion of the colony of New South Wales holds out greater inducements to the colonists than that portion of it upon which I am now reporting; all the advantages given by a fertile soil and luxuriant pasturage which, in many other parts, are somewhat abated by an expensive and irksome land-carriage for supplies and produce, are here brought to the very verge of the coast; and a coast, moreover, so indented with creeks and rivers as to scatter facilities for water-carriage along the whole extent of it from its southern extreme to the river Fitzroy.

"Throughout this country, and generally within some very moderate distance from water-carriage, there are, in many localities, considerable tracts of rich soil, capable of growing every product that a nearly tropical climate will allow the agriculturist to cultivate.

"As yet experience has done little to determine the description of cultivation which is likely to be most profitable; but one experiment on a small scale has shown, with reference to cotton, an article, the production of which is of high national importance, that the yield, so far at least as one year's trial may be depended on, is here more than double that of the average of the same crop in America, and the quality of some samples sent home has been pronounced equal to any imported into England.

"Beyond this, the cultivation of the soil has not, up to the present time, been attempted otherwise than by garden culture, but that has proceeded far enough to enable me to report both soil and climate favourable to the production of everything in this respect required for the sustenance or luxury of man; besides vegetables of all descriptions, each produced in its season with remarkable luxuriance of growth, there are now growing in the government garden here—oranges, lemons, limes, pine apples, guavas, bananas, dates, cocoa-nuts, tamarinds, grapes, cherimolias, peaches, and some other varieties of fruits. The orange and lemon have come into bearing in three years from the seed, and those trees of all kinds which have produced their fruit have yielded it of unusual size and flavour.

"But in addition to the attractions to colonisation offered by a genial climate and fertile soil, I am strongly of opinion the district of Port Curtis will prove to be of importance from its mineral resources.

"Gold has been discovered in so many different localities, and scattered over so large a tract of country, that its search may now be looked upon as one of the permanent occupations of the district; and, although it is impossible to pronounce with any positiveness on the probable productiveness of this metal, I cannot but believe, from its wide diffusion and the rough heavy character of many of the deposits found, that its search will for many years yet to come give employment to a considerable population; and I would beg to point out also, that whereas there

were at this time last year but three persons so engaged, there may now be presumed to be about 200 in different places, using their endeavours to develope the resources of the district, in relation to its productiveness in gold.

"Besides gold, however, I have every reason to believe that as the country progresses in population, and more persons are enabled to examine its resources, it will prove to be rich in other metals requiring the aid of capital in their extraction from their ores.

"I am led to this opinion from the geological formation of many portions of the district, where porphyries, clay slates, and limestones present a close analogy in geological structure to those parts of Mexico and of South America, which have long been famous for their mines, and also from knowing that indications of copper and lead have been traced in several places in these rocks. There are also in this district extensive deposits of marble, lying within easy distance of water-carriage, and which eventually must become valuable both for home use and for exportation.

"I have always looked upon the occupation of the harbour of Port Curtis in advance of interior settlement, as a politic seizure of one of those high natural capabilities presented by the coast, with a view to the establishment of another great centre of Australian colonisation, and a seat of exterior commerce for the extent of country it would drain of its trade, whenever population and capital multiplied sufficiently to call for direct intercourse with distant portions of the globe; and increased knowledge and experience of the resources of the country have confirmed me in a belief in the wisdom of this measure; for independently of the original object of the formation of this settlement, it is now evident it has advanced, by many years over its ordinary progress, the march of the occupation in that direction in which it is of most importance to New South Wales to establish it, viz.:—towards the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

"This occupation once completed, it will not be long ere a railroad follows, to bring New South Wales on its shortest possible line of communication with our Indian empire, and with the mother-country, thus avoiding the boisterous passage round the southern shores of New Holland, and reducing by several days

the period of time now required to communicate with Great Britain."

The third of the three northern settlements of Queensland is the Fitzroy River, or Rockhampton, situated as nearly as possible on the tropic of Capricorn. On this part of my subject, I am happy to have it in my power to avail myself of the observations of so able and highly competent an observer as Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., who, having visited the Fitzroy River and Rockhampton in the months of September and October, 1860, immediately after having resigned his office of President of the Legislative Council of Queensland, which he had held during the first Parliament of that colony, did me the honour, at my request, to draw up the following notes and observations, for the information of intending emigrants to that portion of the colony of Queensland:—

NOTES MADE DURING A SHORT VISIT TO THE FITZROY RIVER IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1860, BY SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.

"The prevailing character of the belt of country along the coast of Queensland, extending from Moreton Island to Keppel Bay, is one of apparently a very uninviting kind. It is not, I believe, until having penetrated a distance of some twenty or thirty miles into the interior, and the eastern acclivity of the coast range is reached, that a superior tract is met with. The alluvial flats on the lower part of the Mary present many rich spots fitted for cultivation. Unfortunately, such localities are generally heavily timbered. I understand that the Boyne flows through a country, which, though limited in extent, is rich and productive.

"On reaching Keppel Bay the character of the coast country appears suddenly to change, and as it was described to me very summarily by a Moreton Bay settler, 'It is Darling Downs brought to the sea-side.' Keppel Bay is a large basin, affording, I am told, perfectly safe anchorage for vessels of any size. It is entirely sheltered from the west, south, and east by the mainland and Curtis Island; and from the north-east by Keppel Island, and one or two other rocky islets in that direction. On the north side of Curtis Island there is abundance of fresh water.

"The Fitzroy River debouches into the bay on the southern side of a range of hills, known as Broadmount. The highest and easternmost of the range has an elevation of from 1200 to 1500 feet. At this point the breadth of the river is probably two miles. The southern banks consist of extensive mangrove flats, extending on towards Mount Larcom, and the picturesque ranges that bound the southern horizon. Where the river sweeps round the base of Broadmount there is, I am assured, a depth of water close to the shore sufficient for vessels drawing twenty-four feet of water. To reach this point, a narrow bar (said not to be more than from forty to fifty feet broad), has to be crossed; the tide rises some ten feet. Accounts vary as to the *minimum* depth of water on this bar. I infer, however, that some engineering efforts would be required to render it passable for vessels of considerable tonnage. At the foot of Broadmount there is a strip of nearly level land, admirably suited for the erection of a city. I cannot help regarding this as the future site of some great commercial town. Having seen most of the capitals of the old world, I could not call to mind any, the geographical position of which seemed to combine *all* the conditions necessary for becoming a great emporium, more strikingly than the locality here referred to. Seated at the entrance of a fine river, the whole commerce of which must pass at its feet; placed on a smooth plateau at the base of a picturesque mountain, the gentle acclivities of which might form healthful sites for houses and gardens, with abundance of fresh water in its immediate neighbourhood, and in the constant enjoyment of refreshing sea breezes,—with a soil of unsurpassed richness extending for an almost unlimited distance around it,—it seems difficult to suggest the absence of any condition essential to prosperity. The one single drawback is the existence of the narrow bar above referred to. Even with this impediment, when it is recollected that within a distance of a very few miles (probably not above three or four) anchorage for vessels of any size can be commanded,—the commercial importance of a town at Broadmount, could hardly fail to be soon realised, if the settlement were once established.

"In speaking of the Fitzroy, it may be well to bear in mind the extent of the country which it drains. It is without question the *largest* river in Eastern Australia, and probably the largest *tidal*

river yet discovered in the whole continent of Australia. Its chief affluents are the Dawson, the Mackenzie, the Comet, and the Isaacs. My friend, Mr. A. T. Wood, the principal officer in the survey department at Rockhampton, in a calculation which he made, estimates the area which the river and its tributaries drain, as not less than from fifty to sixty millions of acres, a district as large as England, Wales and Scotland united; and I fancy nearly, if not quite as large as the province of Victoria. The tide flows for about sixty miles from the point of junction of the river with the bay. The water at Rockhampton (about thirty-five miles from the sea) is during a great part of the year quite fresh.

"GEOLOGY.—My opportunities of observation were limited to an excursion made from Keppel Bay to Canoona, the site of the gold diggings; and consequently I do not pretend to speak with any great degree of precision of the geological character of the country. The fundamental rocks appeared, however, to consist of early stratified deposits—such as mica slate, clay slate, and compact grey limestone. The latter exists in great abundance within three or four miles of Rockhampton, at Glenmore. The whole of these early or metamorphic deposits have been broken through by eruptive rocks, of which are constituted the various peaks and hills, extending from Broadmount westward, and including Mounts Archer, Bersacker and Nicholson. Associated with these rocks, and in the alluvial deposit formed by their *débris*, gold is found in every direction. I am not aware, however, of any example of the precious metal having yet been found in veins.

"During the very short period that the gold diggings were carried on at Canoona and Glenmore 45,000 ounces of gold were exported—of which 40,000 ounces were derived from the first-mentioned place. When at Canoona (now nearly abandoned by the diggers, however), we found on washing the soil specks of ore in every basin of earth. It is difficult to understand why these diggings have not continued to be worked: as the precious metal undoubtedly exists in quantities sufficient to pay for the labour of its extraction. The disappearance of the mining population can only be accounted for by one of those sudden impulses, the effect of violent reaction. When the diggings

were first discovered, thousands of people rushed towards the spot: many never reached it, but returned, after getting to Keppel Bay and Rockhampton—in consequence of the unfavourable accounts of those who having failed to realise the most extravagant expectations were not contented with moderate success.

"The surface of the country generally, along the banks of the Fitzroy, consists of a rich alluvial deposit of a chocolate-coloured earth, clothed with high grass, and spreading out into open prairie, or lightly timbered forest land, with occasional clumps of thick scrub, rendered almost impenetrable by the matted vines and dense foliage of the trees that are found in them. One striking peculiarity of this region is the prevalence of large and deep lagoons in *every* direction. These, covered with the beautiful purple Nelumbium, form a feature as picturesque as it is valuable in the country. At Rockhampton a whinstone dyke crosses the bed of the river, evidently forming a bond of connexion between the eruptive rocks of Mount Archer and those of Gracemere.

"Vegetable Productions.—Many new tropical forms of plants are here met with, which give a new character to the otherwise monotonous uniformity of Australian forest scenery. Some native edible fruits are met with; amongst others a plum (Acharas?) of a not ungrateful taste. A Ficus, yielding gutta percha, is abundant on the banks of the river. Several varieties of a croton, allied to that yielding the cascarilla bark, are also found, as are also many plants of the natural family Rubiaceæ (to which the cinchona belongs), amongst which is a stately deciduous tree, and one presenting a beautiful wood and yellow dye, the Oxleyea Leichhardtii.

"During the short period that the district has been occupied by Europeans, the attempts to cultivate tropical or semi-tropical plants have been most successful. In the garden of M. Thozet at Rockhampton, different varieties of cotton, sugar, tobacco, rice, and arrowroot may be seen growing most luxuriantly. The Sea Island cotton attains a vigour and yields a return most surprising. The same observation applies to the sugar-cane and tobacco plant, from the latter of which M. Thozet has manufactured cigars, which I am assured by 'competent smokers,' are exceedingly good.

"From all I could learn, the country further north, and in

proximity to Broad Sound, would possess even greater capabilities for the production of Sea Island cotton than the districts to the south; for although the plant, instead of being a mere annual (as in America), lasts for three or four years, and ordinarily yields a crop each year, it has not unfrequently happened at Gladstone (and at points further inland or more to the south, the liability must be greater), that late frosts have partially cut down the plants, and so destroyed or diminished the crop for that year.

"I may add that along the banks of the river above the tidal point, irrigation might be had recourse to with great facility.

"CLIMATE.—From personal experience during the brief interval of my visit, I found the climate agreeable. The heat of the summer is, I am assured, very much tempered along the coast by the trade winds, which blow for about nine months in the year. On the table-land of the interior, even in parallels considerably within the tropics, severe frosts are often experienced during five or six months of the year. I infer that so far as experience goes, the climate may be regarded as healthy, although intermittent fever, of a not very severe type, prevails in the interior, and to a greater extent (contrary to what might have been expected) than on the coast.

"Rockhampton now contains from 750 to 1000 inhabitants, most of whom are domiciled in wooden buildings, and not a few in tents. There is only one stone building. Several brick and stone edifices will be commenced the moment that sufficient labour for the purpose can be procured. Vessels drawing from ten to twelve feet water can be brought alongside the wharf.

"GENERAL REMARKS.—There is no part of the Australian Colonies that seems to me to possess such great and *varied* capabilities as the region herein referred to. The whole of the country below the dividing and coast range, is, from its open character and luxuriant herbage, admirably fitted for the grazing of cattle and for the raising of every kind of tropical or semi-tropical agricultural produce. The vast plains of the interior form an immense sheep-walk, only bounded by the shores of Carpentaria and the Indian Ocean. All that is required is the human mechanic '*man*,' to make this magnificent territory available for all the purposes of civilised life. The climate seems, upon the whole, congenial to the European constitution, and it is needless

to say, that there is a field for European labour almost unlimited. For all classes of artizans, skilled labourers, and agriculturists, the *supply* can never, I apprehend, be equal to the demand. When I speak of agriculturists I would, however, wish to do so with some reservation. I believe that there are certain kinds of agricultural employment, in which a European may engage successfully, such as that connected with gardening, the raising of cereals, as maize, and to some extent of *Sea Island* cotton: articles the chief labour connected with the raising of which, is limited to *particular* seasons. I hardly believe that sugar, rice, or the inferior kinds of cotton, can be successfully cultivated *wholly* by European hands. I do not think that *continuous field labour*, under a tropical sun, would be found compatible with the Anglo-Saxon constitution, and I cannot resist the conviction, that if these articles are to be raised in quantities, to have any commercial importance, it must be by the aid of Asiatic labour, as in the Mauritius.

"I yield to no one in repugnance to the Chinese, but I have not the same objection to Indian Coolies. Without thinking for a moment of applying public funds to the introduction of this race, their importation, under proper regulations, might, I apprehend, be safely left to private enterprise. Their occupation would simply be that of field labour, the raising of sugar, rice, and cotton: and so far would they be from becoming competitors in the labour market with our own countrymen, their presence would I believe stimulate the employment of all other classes; the blacksmith, the engineer, the carpenter, the mason, the ship-builder, and the sailor. I can see no reason why the eighty or ninety millions of pounds of sugar consumed annually by the Australian Colonies, should not be thus raised in Australia."

The approach to the Fitzroy River and Rockhampton, from Gladstone, Port Curtis, is by a narrow sound, of about forty miles in length, which intervenes between Curtis Island and the main land. A recent visitor by this route gives the following report of his visit to one of our colonial journals:—

"I set out in the Elida cutter, and sailed through Curtis Sound, Keppel Bay, and entered the Fitzroy River. After various windings through mangrove swamp, the scenery becomes more picturesque; lofty ranges of mountains form the back

ground, while here and there the eye is attracted by the verdure of the soil and rich pasturage of the country around. Now and again a large alligator plunges from the bank and dives headlong into the stream beneath him, forming, as it were, a diminutive whirlpool. The river has its dangers — sand-banks are met with in many places, but most of these are buoyed. However, thanks to my worthy captain, I landed safely on the 24th of December at Rockhampton.

"In the immediate vicinity of Rockhampton the country is very flat, and in wet weather partly under water. The town can boast of seven hotels, several large stores, besides numerous shops of every trade, canvas tents, and neat dwelling-houses; the streets, though narrow, are regular, and on the whole the place seems well laid out. The business transacted during my stay must have been immense, for every store and hotel were continually crowded.

"The exports from Rockhampton last season were from 700 to 800 bales of wool, with two shipments of cattle and sheep to New Caledonia; there will be a considerable increase this year in exportation. Now, when we look back some fifteen months ago to the great rush, and then the retrograde movement of population, I cannot help thinking the place is in a promising position. Nor is this all. Look at the once attractive Canoona, and now almost a deserted gold-field; the other day it exposed to view a nugget weighing five and a half ounces *real Canoona gold.* The diggings in the neighbourhood of Gracemere, about five miles from Rockhampton, has still its working hands, each of whom is doing well, and many feel confident of an extensive gold-field in the quarter ere long."

Sir Charles Nicholson's visit, and more particularly his having made considerable purchases of land on the Fitzroy River, had produced a considerable excitement in the district, and, in the words of the correspondent of one of the Queensland journals, "had given quite an impetus to land speculation and general business transactions." In particular, "a public meeting, which was numerously attended, was held at the Fitzroy Hotel," during his stay, "for the purpose of organising a Cotton Growing Association, Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., in the chair. The chairman having explained the objects of the meeting in his usual

eloquent and explicit manner, urged upon the inhabitants the necessity of at once going into the subject with energy and determination, feeling confident of ultimate success, and the conviction that nothing could tend more to the welfare and advancement of this rising district.

"The following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

"Moved by Alfred Brown, Esq., J.P., and seconded by ——low, Esq., J.P.:—'That whilst an unlimited extent of the richest land, immediately available for the growth of cotton, sugar, and other kinds of tropical produce, is to be found in this part of the colony of Queensland, and whilst also vast regions are being daily opened up to the north, north-west, and west, admirably adapted for pastoral and grazing purposes, these sources of wealth and natural prosperity are checked, or left altogether in abeyance, in consequence of the want of an adequate supply of labour. This meeting, therefore, begs to urge upon the Government and Legislature of the colony the necessity of such steps being taken as may secure to the district a supply of labour adequate in some measure to its wants, and calculated to develope its great and varied resources.'

"Proposed by Albrecht Feez, Esq., and seconded by Wm. Landsborough, Esq.:—'That, in the opinion of this meeting, the most direct and eligible mode of establishing the growth of cotton would be by a system of moderate premiums on its production; that the remission proffered on the purchase of land will not afford that direct and immediate stimulus which is needed; whereas it is confidently believed that, if a bounty of one shilling per pound were assured to the producer of any quantity of not less than ten lbs of clean Sea Island cotton, on its shipment within a given period, a most useful and successful impulse would be given to the immediate cultivation of this important article of commerce. This meeting, therefore, suggests that an annual appropriation from the revenue should, for a limited period, be made for the purpose of effecting this important object.'"

The result of the meeting was the unanimous adoption of the following petition to the Upper House of the Parliament of Queensland:—

"To the honourable the Legislative Council of Queensland in Parliament assembled,

"The petition of the undersigned landholders, graziers, and others, inhabitants of Rockhampton and the district connected therewith,

"Humbly sheweth,—

"That the district in which your petitioners are settled, or with which they are connected, contains immense tracts of land fitted for pastoral purposes, and available for the growth of various kinds of tropical produce; that for the raising of Sea Island cotton large areas of naturally cleared land exist, readily accessible by means of navigable waters, and only requiring the labour of man to be rendered a source of national wealth and prosperity.

"That the great natural resources of this portion of Queensland are rendered unavailable in consequence of the want of labour.

"Your petitioners believe that the vast pastoral tracts of the interior now being opened up cannot be profitably occupied, or the cultivation of articles of tropical growth attempted, unless a regular and systematic influx of population be directed to the locality.

"Your petitioners therefore pray that your honourable House may be pleased to take such prompt steps, as to your judgment may seem meet, in dealing with a question so intimately connected with the present welfare and future progress of the colony, and your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray."

Shortly after the visit of Sir Charles Nicholson, Sir George Bowen, the Governor, visited Rockhampton, and the following extract of the address presented by the inhabitants to his Excellency on that occasion, with the subjoined extract from his Excellency's reply, will no doubt be interesting to the reader:—

"We are persuaded that it is only necessary that an impartial observation of the district should be made to secure that attention to its interests, and that confidence in its resources, which its extent, and the fertility of its soil, and its climate, are calculated to inspire, and which must soon render it one of the most promising and prosperous divisions of all the Australian colonies."

To which his Excellency replies:

"I entirely concur in the favourable opinion which you have formed of the great resources and bright prospects of this district.

Its salubrious and delightful climate; the rapid progress which it has recently made; the extraordinary development of its productive powers, notwithstanding the paucity of its present population; the demonstration of its fitness for yielding the principal sources of pastoral and agricultural wealth; its capabilities of consuming the productions of other countries in large and increasing quantities, as proved by the returns of our imports, and by the high rank which Queensland already holds in this respect among the provinces of the British Empire; all these and other considerations which might be added, hold out strong inducements to persons contemplating emigration from Great Britain, to turn their steps to these shores, and strong incentives to the Government and people of this colony to offer every encouragement to the best classes of emigrants to select it for their future home.

"With regard to the extension of agriculture—an object of paramount importance in all countries—you will agree with me that an attempt to cultivate, on any considerable scale, wheat, or the other productions of colder climates, in North Queensland, would be as contrary to the true principles of Political Economy, as an attempt to cultivate cotton or sugar in North Britain. It is obvious that the agricultural resources of every region should be developed in those productions which are best suited to its soil and climate, and which can be profitably exchanged for the staple commodities of other lands. Between the river Fitzroy and Cape York there are millions of acres peculiarly adapted for the growth of the most valuable cottons and sugars of America and of the West Indies, without the accompanying drawback of an atmosphere unsuited to the English constitution. I am also anxious to direct your attention to the cultivation of the olive, the vine, the mulberry, the orange, and the lemon, which have enriched Southern Italy, Spain, and Greece—those portions of Europe which possess a climate akin to your own."

There is nothing more surprising than the prices obtained for land in this comparatively remote settlement; of the rapid progress and future importance of which all classes of visitors appear to have been perfectly confident from the very first. And this impression does not appear to have been affected in any way by the return of a large majority of the original mining population

to Sydney and Melbourne. The following is an extract from a communication forwarded to one of our Sydney newspapers in the month of November, 1858 :—

"In Rockhampton the chief feature of interest has been the sale of town lots, which took place on Wednesday and Thursday last. The attendance was numerous, and the bidding very spirited, especially for the lots that front the reserved quay which runs along the river edge. These were sold in quarter-acres, and realised very high prices. Only nine of them were offered, the others having been withdrawn for the present, owing to the land having been taken up by permanent buildings or under occupation licences. The nine realised 572*l.* 10*s.*, the highest price being 82*l.* 10*s.*, and the lowest 54*l.*, making an average of 63*l.* 12*s.* per quarter-acre, or 254*l.* 8*s.* per acre—rather a high price for land in a locality such as this, and taking existing circumstances into account. The blocks next to the river frontage also commanded high prices, and were sold at prices ranging from 70*l.* to 20*l.* the half-acre. The remaining lots, all half-acres, fetched from 10*l.* to 25*l.*, according to position. On the first day, Wednesday, 131 lots were advertised; of these 13 were withdrawn, and for 36 there was no offer, leaving 85 actually sold; these realised the sum of 1185*l.* On the second day, Thursday, 127 lots were advertised — 8 were withdrawn, and for six there was no offer; 113 were therefore sold, and they realised 2923*l.* The gross product of the two days' sale was 4108*l.*"

The following notices, which refer to a much more recent period, will doubtless be interesting to the reader, especially if intending to emigrate to Queensland.

"Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., arrived here on the 7th instant, per 'Clarence,' steamer, from Brisbane. On the 11th he proceeded to Yamba, thence to Canoona and Bonnie Doon, and on the 13th returned to his hotel here. In his opinion gold will yet be found in paying quantities, having himself obtained gold from surface washing. There are now about 35 diggers at work, 15 having returned this week. Sir Charles thinks highly of this district, and has purchased largely of the land in and around the town; he remarked that it only required a larger population to render it a very prosperous place.

"The necessary petition and notices appeared in the 'Govern-

ment Gazette' of the 28th July, praying that this town and its suburbs may be erected into a municipality. An opposition is expected from a gentleman holding a run on the proposed boundary, but I do not think it can prove effective. In acknowledging the receipt of the petition, the governor's private secretary is directed to express his Excellency's satisfaction at the application, which, he feels convinced, will tend to the prosperity of our important district.

"Shearing is progressing as fast as the squatters can get hands; our only drawback is the dearth of labour both in town and country. Twenty good carpenters could find work here. Our buildings are now assuming so very superior an appearance that skilled workmen are required; and, as there are so many new stations being formed in the district, the bushmen find it more to their advantage to resume the employment they have been accustomed to.

"A building is in course of construction for a branch of the Union Bank of Australasia. We have had a branch of the Joint Stock Bank the last two years, but no doubt there will be business enough for both. An hospital was built here by the New South Wales Government, and afterwards abandoned; with the increasing prosperity of the town, it has been enlarged and again opened. The new government of Queensland have granted 200*l.* by way of subsidy. It has been found useful for men arriving in sickness from the interior.

"A meeting took place on the 17th instant, in the large new hall attached to the Fitzroy Hotel, for the purpose of considering the propriety of erecting another school-house. It was the most numerously attended meeting ever held in this town since the time of the rush. Sir Charles Nicholson presided, and promised, as chairman of the Queensland Board of Education, to make such representation as might induce that board to subsidise the subscription of the inhabitants. I need not trouble you with the arguments used, but upwards of 200*l.* were subscribed in the room, and a committee appointed to carry out the following resolutions that were unanimously passed:—

"'1st. That in order to afford an education to the rising generation of this district, it is desirable to establish a National school in Rockhampton.

"'2nd. That this meeting pledges itself to use every exertion to raise a sufficient sum, which, coupled with the government grant, will erect a building suitable for the requirements of the rapidly increasing population of this important district.'

"Contributions still continue to come in, and it is confidently anticipated that at least 400*l.* will be collected in a fortnight's time."

In connection with this very gratifying notice of the efforts of the inhabitants of Rockhampton in the establishment of schools, I may add that Bishop Tuffnell, the Anglican bishop of Queensland, had also visited that district in the month of November last, with a view to the settlement of a minister of the Church of England in Rockhampton, and that an invitation had also been given to the Rev. Mr. Hogg, a Presbyterian minister from the North of Ireland, who had preached with acceptance in the district, and had accepted of a call from the members of that communion to be their pastor. A subscription was in progress for a salary for Mr. Hogg, which, on the 24th November, had reached 200*l.* a-year.

One of the most enterprising inhabitants of Rockhampton, in the way of developing the agricultural and horticultural resources of the district, is Monsieur Thozet, already mentioned above, who has settled on the Fitzroy River, strangely preferring a British colony to the mild and beneficent rule of Louis Napoleon.

"Our Rockhampton correspondent," observes the editor of one of the Queensland papers, "gives a description of the plants, fruits, and vegetables grown in the garden of Monsieur Thozet, of that place. These, as indicative of the results likely to be reaped by enterprising horticulturists and farmers, are highly interesting. Among the fruit trees mentioned are the orange, lemon, cherry, fig, peach, &c. &c. Tobacco and cotton of first-rate quality are instanced as among the plants, and a description is given of the Leichhardt wood, of which tree M. Thozet has a plantation; the wood is said to be equal, if not superior, to cedar. The cotton plant, as grown here, is stated to be in a ripe condition during nine months out of the twelve, and the Indian corn to yield three crops per annum, and to be from eight to ten feet high, with an enormous cob."

The following extract of a letter, addressed to myself, of date,

"Archer's Diggings, Gracemere, five miles from Rockhampton, 28th March, 1859," will show how very highly the capabilities and prospects of this noble district are estimated by those who alone are the best judges of them,—the industrious classes of society:

"The Fitzroy River, running for forty miles through a rich alluvial soil, adapted to the production of cotton, sugar, maize, &c., should at once be proclaimed open to the selection of farms. Ask any one of the 1000 diggers who returned from this, and they will confirm my statement, that the banks of the Fitzroy are beyond all praise. The timber light, and the land rich, to be worked at fifty per cent. less cost than the scrubs of Moreton or Wide Bay. A fine climate on a fresh-water river, one and a half mile broad, capable of carrying vessels forty-five miles from Rockhamptom, drawing five feet,—this, with a river in a state of nature, what may it not do, opened by science? Bear in mind, that the squatter has yet a wide field. The noble country of the Isaacs, Comet, M'Kenzie (all tributaries of this river) is yet open to those who desire pastures new. This subject requires your earnest attention, or the lands will be shut up for fourteen years. The gold fields of these districts will, in time, give work to thousands.

"Your servant,

"GEORGE GRIMSTEAD,
"A Digger from 1853."

The following extract of a letter, also addressed to myself, of date, Sydney, 11th Dec., 1860, by William Landsborough, Esq., of Glenprairie, on the marine plains of Broad Sound, fifty miles to the northward of the Fitzroy River, will also be particularly interesting to the intending emigrant, from the very favourable account which it gives of the climate of these northern regions. Mr. Landsborough is one of the three sons of the late Rev. Dr. David Landsborough, of Ardrossan, in the west of Scotland; a name well known and highly esteemed by many in that country, in the departments both of natural history and of poetry, as well as in connection with the recent ecclesiastical struggles of his native land. The Messrs. Landsborough all emigrated many years ago to New South Wales, and settled in the far north.

"The country near the coast has well-marked roads from Bris-

bane to near Cape Palmerston, a distance of upwards of 700 miles. On these roads a traveller gets along without much difficulty, as there are sheep and cattle stations, each within a day's journey of some other. About 200 miles beyond Cape Palmerston, to the northwestward a new township is to be formed in Port Denison in the beginning of the year.

"Port Curtis and Port Denison are the best harbours known on that seaboard. The former is well known to be one of the best in Australia; but hitherto it has not been much used, as the Mary River, Raglan Creek, the Fitzroy River, and the creeks of Broad Sound admit the steamers and sailing vessels which are employed on that coast. The Fitzroy River is navigable from Keppel Bay to Rockhampton, a distance of about thirty-five miles, and has a depth of fourteen feet all the way up during high water, and higher than Rockhampton it is navigable for vessels of light burden (except in a very dry season) as far as Yamba, a township about thirty miles above Rockhampton. This township of Yamba is about forty miles from my station, Glenprairie, near the navigable part of Herbert's Creek, Broad Sound, where there is a tide from twenty to thirty feet. The other creeks of Broad Sound have, of course, an equally high tide, and are the more important, because they are better situated for the shipments of the produce from Peak Downs and the country on the watershed of the Isaacs River.

"I have travelled over a great part of New South Wales and Victoria, and of the settled portions of Queensland, and also over many hundreds of miles of the unsettled lands of the latter colony: and I am of opinion that the northern colony has by far the best grassed country, and that from its having summer rains and abundance of very rich soil, it is well adapted for the cultivation of cotton and other tropical productions. I should particularly recommend to farmers the three-mile reserves along the coast from Cape Palmerston to Keppel Bay, which would take the whole of the frontage to the sea of Broad Sound, and Shoal-water Bay, &c., as slightly timbered and well adapted for agriculture; but I should like the agriculturists to select what country they liked best.

"I have resided in the northern portions of Queensland during the last seven years, and I, as well as the generality of the settlers,

consider that it has a fine healthy climate for Europeans, and that it is quite as agreeable as other parts of Australia. During winter the climate is generally dry, and it is most agreeable. But the summer rarely passes without the rivers becoming uncrossable from floods; at least once or twice in the course of the season.

"The summer at Rockhampton has been found, even during the wet season, to be very healthy, when tried by 10,000 diggers, who were badly provided with shelter from the weather. Yet it is, like most parts of the world, often too hot to be pleasant. Its average temperature is higher than that of the more southern colonies; but as it has generally cool evening breezes, and never has hot winds, the climate is never so hot or so disagreeable as it is sometimes in New South Wales and Victoria. The disagreeably hot weather is mostly over when the rainy season sets in. During winter, within the tropic of Capricorn, at an elevation of about 1200 feet, I have often felt it as cold as Sir Thomas Mitchell's statement of the temperature, namely 18°, repeatedly at sunrise, on a similar elevation at a point about 250 miles to the westward of Cape Capricorn.

"In the neighbourhood of Rockhampton, gold-diggers and other European labourers pursue hard out-door contract and other work with perfect impunity in the hottest weather. On both sides of the Fitzroy River at Rockhampton, but especially on the north side, there are gardens which produce as fine cabbages, carrots, pumpkins, and other vegetables, as any I have ever seen."

The following very interesting letter was forwarded to me only a few days before I left the colony of New South Wales. It was written by a young friend who had gone to Rockhampton for his health :—

"*Rockhampton, Dec.* 1860.

"DEAR SIR,—Since writing to you I have been able to pick up a little more information about this place. I have had the pleasure of an interview with a scientific Frenchman named Thozet, who, by the way, is a sincere friend of your own. He told me he first introduced himself to you, when only about three days in Sydney, to translate a paper for him on the subject of the French Benevolent Society. He came to Rockhampton when the rush was made to the Canoona gold-field, about two years ago. Being

struck with the resources of the country, he resolved to stay here and try his fortune, and has been very successful. With that view, he purchased about seventy acres of ground on the north bank of the river, close to the foot of the mountains, and has since been making experiments in nearly all kinds of tropical productions, which he seems, from his thorough knowledge of botany, to understand how to cultivate properly, as is evidenced by his success.

"He tells me that the soil is admirably adapted for the growth of cotton, from the fact that there is a fine rich black mould for sub-soil, from three to four feet in depth; and underneath that is a layer of gravel, or débris, which must have been left by the river or washed down from the mountains. I saw three descriptions of this plant, which may be taken as testing the kind most suitable to the soil. The New Orleans plants did not appear healthy, neither did they produce much pod; while alongside of them were some specimens of Pernambuco, very strong and healthy, which will, in another year, bear well; but the most successful experiment was in the Sea Island, which yields more than any of the others, and from its superior quality will always maintain the highest price in the market. The bushes of the last mentioned were growing close to some grass, with apparently little care bestowed upon them, as Mr. Thozet very justly remarked that it was the best way to make a practical experiment. Each of these bushes would cover a little over a square yard, and was only of two years' growth from seed. On each were about two hundred pods, which I was informed would yield about a pound and a half of cotton. We have fine facilities for irrigation. The streams from the mountains have formed watercourses, which are generally dry except at the rainy season. When the river is swollen at these seasons, the courses are filled by the back water of the river, so that the ground becomes thoroughly moistened, and often submerged. As the river subsides, the water is soon drained off. From this circumstance, the thought occurred to me that this must be a fine rice-growing country, as there would be no expense for artificial irrigation, if the season for sowing it were properly chosen.

"I also saw some fine specimens of ginger, arrowroot, indigo, &c.; but next in importance to the cotton is the sugar-cane. The

plants have not been long planted; but from their strength of stem and vigour of growth there can be no mistaking as to the profits which would arise from this branch of investment. Sorghum cannot easily be surpassed; four crops can be raised in the year; but as you, doubtless, have statistics of the returns of this plant, it is only wasting time to say more about it.

"Tobacco grows luxuriantly and will pay well. Cigars of our own growth and manufacture are selling in town at three-pence each. They are much larger than the ordinary cigars.

"Olives grow as well as in Italy; and I have no doubt that ere long, olive oil will form a material item in our exports. The Governor of Queensland was highly gratified by his visit to the gardens, and, in his address to the people at Rockhampton, made special mention of the applicability of the soil and climate for the growth of this plant.

"The experiments in maize prove that three crops can be easily raised in the year. The first crop yielded forty-five bushels per acre, the second the same quantity, and the third, forty bushels; or, take a lower estimate for a general average—say that each crop returns forty bushels per acre; this multiplied by three for the three crops, will be equal to 120 bushels. The present price here is seven shillings per bushel, but this price cannot be maintained, after we begin to grow a little more extensively. No one can doubt, in the face of such returns, that the days are numbered for importing oats for horse feed from Britain, Denmark, California, and Calcutta. They cannot compete with us.

"The width of the river at the wharves is, I should say, from three-eighths to seven-sixteenths of a mile, and the depth of water enough to float the largest ships; but on the way up to this, from the bay, are two mud flats, over which vessels drawing more than eleven feet cannot safely pass. Above the anchorage is what is called the Falls, or, more properly speaking, the Rapids; at this place, the stream is divided by a number of rocks, a little above water, at respective distances from each, which will be used as foundations in building a bridge; nature could not have done more for us in this way, as the greatest difficulty (except getting the money) is thus overcome. A bridge could be cheaply put up, either of wood or of stone. A good marble quarry is about to be wrought in the neighbourhood, by Mr. A. Douglas.

I expect to see, in a few years, a fine bridge across the river to the Government Reserve, which will also, I hope, be laid out for pleasure grounds. The face of the mountains afore-mentioned, I feel confident, will be taken up by our aristocracy for country residence. The soil on them is of the best description for growing the coffee plant. I enclose you some Customs' Returns, which may be useful; they are not got up in detail, as I would have wished them, but the best was done under the circumstances.

"I shall try and get a copy of the meteorological tables for you, but I am afraid it is too late.

"I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"A. BERTRAM.

"P.S.—It is our intention to plant trees in our streets."

"CUSTOMS RETURNS FOR THE PORT OF ROCKHAMPTON (from 1st January to the 30th November 1860).

	Duty.			Export.	Import.	Remarks.
1860:	£	s.	d.	£	£	In the years 1859-60, 800 bales of wool were exported each year, and included in fore-mentioned exports. Last year many of the sheep were shorn before bringing them from Darling Downs and elsewhere. This year the clip is not all down yet.
January . .	352	12	6	3,506	5,035	
February . .	420	3	7	9,630	7,339	
March . . .	295	5	6	577	5,050	
April . . .	512	1	0	1,682	8,345	
May . . .	372	14	2	1,436	3,262	
June . . .	301	1	4	500	7,199	
July . . .	435	15	2	115	4,701	
August . .	352	12	4	347	6,230	
September. .	332	18	3	1,927	3,983	
October . .	651	4	1	10,679	9,956	
November .	470	8	6	7,803	4,722	
Total £	4,496	16	5	£38,202	£65,822	

"This return is made up by the Customs.—H. BERTRAM."

The following interesting account of an excursion up the Fitzroy River to what is now the township of Yamba, alluded to by Mr. Landsborough, is extracted from a report furnished to the "Sydney Morning Herald" in November 1858:—

"I left Rockhampton early one fine clear morning, with the

first of the flood tide, my object being to take a quiet survey of the upper portion of this now celebrated river.

"Passing through the reef of rocks which at the township of Rockhampton forms the head of the ship navigation, we found ourselves in a fine broad stream, with a depth sufficient to float a large-sized vessel, and running between high bold banks of lightly timbered and thickly grassed land. This kind of country continues for a distance of six miles. The river then makes a sudden bend round to the west, whilst on the eastern bank the land falls off to admit the entrance of a large creek. This low land is exceedingly rich, from the floods that are continually overflowing it, and has all the luxuriant jungle character that we look for in tropical countries. The vegetation is rank and dense, the trees — principally the common soft-barked tea-tree — growing to an enormous size, and bound together by wild vines interlaced with innumerable brilliant flowering creepers. After passing this corner, the river once more resumes its high banks, of nearly the same appearance as those previously passed, high and bold, and seemingly sufficient to withstand all ordinary floods. Four miles further on we come upon a small island, of about half a mile in length, on the extreme point of which a boatman assured me that on one occasion he had seen a large alligator comfortably taking his siesta.

"We saw no alligator there, but we got a shot at a brace of ducks, and bagged one. The ducks here have a very beautifully variegated plumage. The ordinary teal are black and white, very prettily marked, particularly about the head, two stripes of black feathers running down the neck from the back of the head, and two circles of black surrounding the eyes. Others have all the splendid plumage and rich glittering colours of the pheasant, the feathers being stained in variegated rings, and shining in bronze and gold. A distance of ten miles from this island having been passed over, we reached the southern extremity of Long Island. There was nothing particularly noticeable in this distance except when, here and there, a creek came into the river, now on one side, now on the other; the country bearing the same character throughout, and being, without exception, the most verdant and thickly grassed bush that I ever passed over.

"At this spot the river divides itself,—one, the principal chan-

nel, turning almost backwards on the previous course of the stream, and running round the southern extremity of the island. In this channel there is deep water throughout, but its course is tortuous, and it is four miles longer than the other, or the eastern channel; that is, about five miles in length, but in dry seasons there are one or two spots over which it is all but impossible to float a boat. This renders it accessible only at high water or in seasons of flood. It was on the promontory formed by the bend taken by the western channel that we fixed our camp.

"With the first light of morning we started on the prosecution of our journey. We followed the eastern channel, through which the river narrowed very perceptibly, the island banks being low and marshy, with large swamps extending over it. In this style it proceeds for about three miles, when a spot called 'the Narrows' is reached. Here the river has broken through a long neck of land, forming it into small islets, between which, except in one place, there is barely passage for a boat; and I was informed that in dry seasons persons could pass here almost dry-footed. From here to the end of the island, the right-hand bank of the stream is low and very thickly wooded, every flood overrunning this part of the country very extensively, and causing, under the heat of a tropical sun, a luxuriance of vegetation that is only to be equalled elsewhere under a similar conjunction of circumstances. All along the river the banks and the adjacent shores were covered with a long reedy-looking succulent grass, which would furnish excellent food for cattle whilst green.

"Passing the end of the island, and coming into the main stream, we found the river again widened out into a magnificent sheet of water, overhung on each side with immense tea-trees, which projected far into the water below. These trees are very different from the stunted small-leaved specimens of the genus that are to be found in Sydney. In size they rival the giant productions of some of our southern brushes, whilst their leaves are long, straight, and pendant, the leaf-bearing twigs drooping down from the boughs in the same style as the weeping willow, which tree in appearance the tea-tree of the Fitzroy very much resembles. On the extremity of these twigs, and generally within six or seven feet of the water, were numerous nests of the tailor bird, very beautiful specimens of bird architecture, being formed by

intertwining the leaves of the tree with small twigs, moss, hair, and the softest bark of the tea-tree. The entrance to the nest is from the upper end, and it is covered with a long projecting eave which secures the young birds from rain. They are placed in this position, to prevent the snakes and guanas — both of very large size — which infest the river banks, from regaling themselves upon the eggs or young therein deposited.

"In addition to these, I observed in several places where the bank of the river was bare and precipitous, and where portions of it had been washed out or fallen, thus forming a hollow, that very large numbers of a very small kind of marten had congregated together, all busily engaged in constructing their nests of mud, which were ranged in long close lines on the roof of the hollow. The little creatures were all occupied at their work, some at the water's edge working up and tempering the clay, others clinging to the half-formed nests, beating in with their wings the morsels of clay already prepared, and keeping up the while a continual twittering. Besides these, there were numerous nests of other birds of the larger kind built high up in the trees.

"At this part of the river I also remarked, for the first time, a very beautiful tree, which got more and more frequent as we mounted the stream; it has a large bright leaf, very much resembling that of the fig in shape, but rather darker in colour. The branches spread out almost at right angles from the trunk, but instead of being in a series of rings like the fir, they are alternate, getting shorter as they reach the top.

"Through this magnificent scenery we travelled for a distance of nine miles, our boatmen pulling against a strong down current, owing to a recent fresh in the river, and we landed on an extensive bank of sand and pebbles to get breakfast. Here we found a rich collection of stones and pebbles that would have gladdened the heart of a geologist. The spot was low, and had been cut up into numerous channels by repeated floods, which on subsiding had left three large banks of débris that had perhaps travelled down hundreds of miles from some of the many tributaries of the stream.

We once more embarked; the business of pulling the boat up against the fresh becoming now a very serious one, more especially where narrows occurred, the current in such places run-

ning down so swiftly as to give our two men as much as they could do to make head against it. At the end of the low sandy point, where we breakfasted, the first rapids occur,—the river being here narrowed to about one-third of its ordinary width. A long pull and strong pull was necessary to get us over this difficulty, and then we had before us, for a distance of nine or ten miles, the same broad sheet of water, the same bold banks, and the same luxuriant vegetation that had characterised our previous progress. There would have been a sameness in the unvaried richness of the shore on either side, were it not that at intervals creeks made their way in through the high banks, breaking them up, sometimes into small islets, sometimes into long jutting peninsulas, and always forming mimic deltas, upon which vegetation was most wild and profuse. Here and there, too, deep bays occur; their placid waters, which the current does not reach, having a surface smooth and polished as a sheet of glass.

"After these nine or ten miles had been passed over, we reached the Alligator Creek, which runs in a straight line into the Fitzroy, the river itself making a strong bend towards the west. At its embouchure, Alligator Creek is very nearly as wide a stream as the Fitzroy, and being more directly in a line with the previous course of the river than the river itself, it has been on more than one occasion mistaken for the main stream. After leaving Alligator Creek, the northern bank of the river rises up bold and precipitous fully fifty feet above the level of the water, maintaining this elevation the whole of the way to the landing-place, a distance of six or seven miles. In this place the rapids and narrows are of frequent occurrence, the navigation being rendered still more difficult by snags and shallows. Through all these perils and dangers which beset the river track, more particularly during time of flood, we reached the landing-place in safety, between four and five o'clock."

The reader will perceive, from the map of Queensland appended to this volume, that the Fitzroy River is formed from the junction of the Dawson and Mackenzie Rivers, both discovered and named by the late Dr. Leichhardt; the former flowing at the point of junction from the south, and the latter from the north, of the interior of Queensland. The Mackenzie River is the Belyando of Sir Thomas Mitchell, who traced it for upwards of two

degrees of latitude, proceeding northerly, much farther west; but who abandoned all further exploration of it, and retraced his steps to the southward, when he found that it turned to the eastward, and would fall into the Pacific. The Dawson rises nearer the coast; but though occupied as squatting stations for more than ten years previous, there had been no direct communication between it and the coast up to the close of the year 1858. The following account of a voyage of two hundred and fifty miles down the Dawson and Fitzroy to Rockhampton, which, including both the preface and conclusion, I also extract from the "Sydney Morning Herald" of the 30th December of that year, partakes somewhat of the character of romance, and reminds one of the expeditions of the old Spaniards of the sixteenth century in America.

"THE FITZROY RIVER.

"About the middle of October last several parties, impressed with the auriferous character of the country in the vicinity of this river, started off on prospecting tours to test the various localities. Some of these confined themselves to the gullies and ridges running down from the range that overhangs Canoona; others again pushed further ahead, penetrating to localities on which no white man's foot had ever before preceded them. Confining our remarks to this latter class, we explain that some had been fitted out by public subscription of the people of Rockhampton, partly aided by subsidies from Captain O'Connell; whilst one or two went out entirely upon their own resources, independently resolving to risk all or to make all, entirely 'on their own hook.' One of these, a party of eight, started from Rockhampton at the time we have mentioned above, and, determined to give the country a fair trial, pushed on, prospecting all the likely spots on the route, as far as the Dawson River. Arrived there, the work of prospecting was more carefully performed, until they reached the Rio Station of Mr. M'Intosh, on the Dawson. Here, the appearance of the country giving every indication of a golden deposit, the party made up their mind to camp for a time, making the station their head-quarters, and prospecting the whole of the surrounding country. They remained twelve days at this work, but could find nothing that would pay, and, as their resources

were nearly exhausted, they resolved to return to Canoona. A difference of opinion ensued as to the best route to be followed, one-half the party resolving to return by land, the other half preferring the journey by water. This caused a split in the party, which divided into two, four taking the one passage and four the other. Of the four adventurous men who trusted themselves to the unknown dangers of an all but unknown stream it is now our purpose to speak. Their names are Donald M'Leod, William Emmons, John Dinniney, and Alexander M'Kinlay; and the statement which follows we have from their own lips. They say:—

"'Having come to the conclusion to leave for Rockhampton by way of the Fitzroy River, our first consideration was to provide ourselves with the means of conveyance. For this the Bottle Tree offered itself in unusual abundance. This tree is one that we have never seen resembled anywhere. In shape it is like a lemonade bottle, small at the bottom, then bulging out as it rises towards the centre, then gradually contracting until it runs up like the neck of the bottle. The bark is very hard, with a rough exterior, somewhat resembling the outer covering of the mountain oak. When the outer covering is removed, the inner bark is harder than the hardest ironbark, and will turn anything but the best tempered axe. Once through this, however, to the depth of an inch, and then the remainder of the bulk of the tree is as soft as a cabbage stalk. The interior portion of the tree is used as food by the natives when very hard up, and sometimes for a change: eaten raw, it somewhat resembles cocoa-nut, being rich and unctuous; and when boiled it forms itself into a jelly that in flavour is more than equal to arrowroot. The leafy top that crowns the stalk, for it is hardly to be called a trunk, is erect and slightly spreading, having something of the character of the top of the fern tree, but with leaves more resembling those of the oak on a large scale. The tree itself grows to a height of from eighteen to twenty-five feet; and, from the ease with which they are cleared out, form excellent canoes. Some of them are so large that from them canoes to carry fifty men could be made.

"'On the 3rd December then, shortly after making up our minds, we picked out a tree, and made the canoe, in which we had determined to risk our fortunes as far as Rockhampton.

The length of the vessel was sixteen feet, with a breadth of beam of three feet and a half, and a depth of one foot and a half. We left the bottom round, bark on and all, exactly as nature formed it; and luckily for ourselves, the same great artificer had formed the native tree forward with such a bend as well suited for running our frail barque over the logs, and snags, and sawyers, that we were sure to meet on our road. With the same view, we left her very strong forward, so as to be prepared against any actual collision with these or with rocks, such as we might expect in the unexplored waters we were about to descend.

"'On the 4th December, we launched our dug-out upon the waters of the Dawson, and occupied ourselves for the remainder of the day by chopping out paddles for use when we might require them; and we were prepared to start by 4 P.M. We may mention here that the mountains on the Dawson, all throughout where we have been, are very high and heavy, seeming to ascend one over the other, tier above tier; and that they are composed of a compact sandstone, cropping up here and there through the light and shallow soil that covers it. The valleys, however, are exceedingly rich; the grass grows shoulder high, and a person travelling through it can barely be seen at six feet distance. The soil also appeared to us to be very good, and to be adapted to agriculture. In the evening we took stock, and found our provisions to consist of 40lbs. of flour, a quarter of mutton, 8lbs. of sugar, and 1lb. of tea; and with this we had to perform what was then to us an unknown distance.

"'On the 5th December, at 5 A.M., having loaded old Dug-out, we shoved him boldly out into the current which, from the rapids that here occurred, was running at the rate of seven knots. This was the rate, according to the calculation of Mr. Mackenzie, who came out to see us start, and accompanied us some distance on the way. We imagine we must have gone about the same rate, whenever rapids occurred, but there were places where the stream widened out or became deeper, and where the current had consequently less effect; in fact, so much so, that we were obliged to pull to hasten our progress. The rapid we now speak of extended to a distance of about eight miles; rather a long stretch for a fall of the kind. In this

way we proceeded, sometimes pulling hard, at others whirled off by the current, until at six in the evening we reached the junction of the Dawson and the Mackenzie, and where the united waters become the Fitzroy.

"'This junction is supposed to be, as the crow flies, about thirty-eight miles nearly due north from the Rio Station, and the confluence of these streams forms a very beautiful sheet of water, about a quarter of a mile in width, and extending away, far as the eye could reach, until lost in the magnificent trees that border it. We have reason to believe that we were the first white men that ever floated canoe or boat over the confluence of these two rivers. It appeared to us, by pocket compass, that the Mackenzie ran in from nearly due west, whilst the Dawson ran in from the northward, perhaps NN.W. At seven in the evening we went ashore, and camped on the banks of the Fitzroy, about six miles below the junction of the Mackenzie and Dawson.

"'On the 6th, at daylight, we again manned our canoe and travelled down the Fitzroy—no pleasant road—over snags, and logs, and rocks, and down-falls, and along rapids. During this day we met more than the ordinary number of bars across the river. These were composed of a blue rock, much harder than the ordinary slaty bars of auriferous rivers, and also closer in the grain and much smoother than the trap rock that we have to go through in many deep-sinkings. These struck us as likely spots, but our provisions were low, and we had to push on in spite of anything. The rapids here—and in fact all up the river—are marked by a thick tea-tree scrub, that grows right across and in the bed of the river—so closely that at times the passage through is scarcely perceptible. At 7 P.M. we camped for the night on the banks of the river, a sheet of calico our only covering, and the uncertainty of our position causing us to husband our provisions by partaking only of a light supper.

"'On the 7th we passed through a very heavy range of mountains, in the midst of which the river has cut itself a sinuous course, flowing through the wildest and most magnificent country.

"'On the 8th December, we came early in the day to a white mountain, which we at first took to be a quartz hill. We there-

fore landed and examined it, but on closer inspection found it to be a white marble that was everywhere broken and scattered about on the surface, until the hill looked at a short distance as if covered with snow. The marble was exceedingly white and delicate, without veins of any kind through it, so far as we could see from the surface indications. We had no time to make further examinations, for our provisions were all but gone; and we had to hurry on to some quarter where a fresh supply was obtainable. We, however, ascended to the top of the hill, and there, stretching away to the westward, we could see the mountains to a distance of forty miles, lifting up their heads into the clouds, and clad in a robe as white as that worn by the Alps in winter time. We imagined these mountains to be about 140 miles from Rockhampton.

"'On the 9th we again passed over many rapids and falls, without inconvenience; and on the 10th, just as the last of our provisions had gone, we met with Captain M'Coy's party, who very generously gave us flour and sugar enough to carry us down to Rockhampton.

'"On the 11th we came to a heavy fall over a granite bar, down which we had to lower our canoe a depth of some twenty feet. This spot is about thirty miles from Canoona.

"'On the 12th we arrived safely in our canoe at Rockhampton, and at once took our passage, for Sydney. We imagine that the whole distance we went by water was about 250 miles.'

"Such is the plain, unvarnished tale of an expedition, that has given us an insight into the interior of a country so little known, and made us acquainted with a means of conveyance, of which very few had hitherto dreamt. The party, on starting, had been informed that the blacks were very numerous along the Dawson and the Upper Fitzroy; but not one was seen, although the numerous fires burning on the banks, and the many recent traces of their presence, showed that they had but just cleared out before the face of the white invader of their domain."

It will be evident to the reader, from the vast extent both of pastoral and of agricultural country drained by the Fitzroy River and its affluents, that, in the rapid march of Australian colonisation to the northward, that country cannot long remain a portion of Queensland, but will eventually, and at no distant

period, form a separate colony still farther north; realising perhaps the idea of Sir Thomas Mitchell, who, as I have already shown, has suggested for a colony in that region the very appropriate name of Capricornia. But Sir Thomas is not the only person who has suggested the future formation of colonies on the east coast of Australia still farther north than Queensland. In the letter of which I have already given extracts, Mr. Landsborough, who is himself settled at Broad Sound, fifty miles to the northward of the Fitzroy River, and who probably feels that, at that great distance from the capital of Queensland, he can be of no weight or importance in the state, which he would unquestionably be in such a colony as Capricornia, very kindly expresses his desire, when adverting to my own past efforts in the cause of separation, that I may be "long spared to advance the cause of *the colonies that will be formed far beyond the present proclaimed districts of Queensland.*" Should that colony obtain for its southern boundary the thirtieth parallel of latitude, to which it is fairly entitled under an Act of the Imperial Parliament, the twenty-fifth parallel, which Sir Thomas Mitchell declares to be a great natural boundary, would include an ample territory of 200,000 square miles for the colony of Queensland.

The present Government of Queensland deserves great credit for the efforts it has already made in the cause of geographical discovery. In the year 1859, Mr. Sinclair, of the schooner "Santa Barbara," had discovered a very superior harbour, which he named Port Denison, on the western side of Edgecumbe Bay, in latitude 19° south; and a party of land explorers, under the leadership of George Elphinstone Dalrymple, Esq., now Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Kennedy District of Queensland, had simultaneously endeavoured to trace down to its unknown embouchure in the Pacific, the river Burdekin, which Dr. Leichhardt had discovered and ascended on his famous Overland Expedition to Port Essington. Mr. Dalrymple had traced the river to within thirty miles of the coast; and the question of its outlet being still involved in mystery, the Queensland Government directed Mr. J. W. Smith, a master in the Royal Navy, commanding the Government schooner "Spitfire," to proceed to the northward in November last, to search for the mouth of the Burdekin, and to explore an unknown portion of the coast from

Gloucester Island to Halifax Bay. The result of this expedition was that the Burdekin,—like the Rhine, the Nile, and the Indus,—forms a delta at its embouchure, and divides itself into not fewer than four different outlets, no one of which appears to be practicable for navigation. But as Port Denison is near the mouths of the river, and is well fitted in every other respect for the site of a commercial city for an extensive tract of valuable country in that direction, it had been determined, before I embarked for England, to form a town there, and to proclaim both it and the surrounding country open for settlement.

"The port," says Mr. Dalrymple, "approaches the elliptical in form, and is about three miles in length by two miles in breadth. The soundings over the whole of the available and most sheltered parts are nothing under eighteen feet at low water, spring tides, and in many places exceed twenty feet. It is well sheltered from all winds; and in fact I have great pleasure in endorsing Mr. Smith's opinion, which acquires the more weight from his great professional experience in these matters, that Port Denison is a very fine little harbour, and among those of Eastern Australia only second in beauty and capabilities to Port Jackson."—*Report of the Proceedings of the Government Schooner "Spitfire," &c.*

CHAP. VI.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF QUEENSLAND.

UNDER the head of natural productions, I include those for the raising of which no species of cultivation is required; and of all the natural productions of Australia the native grass is, beyond all comparison, the most valuable. It is the distinguishing characteristic of the Australian Colonies, as compared with those of British America and the West Indies, that their vast territory is immediately and directly available for the purposes of man. If the colonist in these regions be a keeper of sheep, like the patriarch Abel, or if, like the sons of Jacob, he have "much cattle," he has only to rear his tent, or rather his bark hut, in the wilderness, leaving his flocks and herds to range freely around him; for, whether he go to the northward, to the westward, or to the southward, he will be sure to find pasture.

The pastoral stations on the Darling Downs are principally sheep stations; to the eastward of the coast range, where there is a comparatively large extent of land, too low, too moist, and too rich for sheep, there are generally both sheep and cattle at the stations. On the downs, where the pasture-land is quite clear of timber, from 2000 to 2500 sheep are usually seen in a single flock. This is a great saving of expense to the squatter; for in those parts of the country where the pasture-land is of the character designated by the term "open forest," not more than about 800 sheep can be run in a flock. The downs are traversed, at moderate distances from each other, by streams, or creeks, as they are called in the colony, rising in the lofty coast range and running westward to the Condamine River; and the usual extent of a sheep-run or station is twenty miles in length by six miles in breadth, or three miles on each side of one of these creeks.

The extent of the station is therefore 120 square miles, or 76,800 acres. On the east side of the Range towards the coast the stations are not unfrequently quite as large.

The climate of Queensland appears to be remarkably well suited to the constitution of the sheep; although the average weight of the fleece is considerably under that of the colony of Victoria, ten degrees farther south; the average weight being 2¼ lbs. in Queensland, and 3 lbs. in Victoria; but the superior quality of the wool from Queensland, and the higher price it brings in the home market, compensate, if not entirely, at least very nearly, for the difference of weight in the fleece. It was formerly a question of the deepest interest to the colonists, in an economical point of view, how far the constitution of the sheep would bear the gradual increase of temperature to the northward in Australia, without occasioning a deterioration in the quality of the wool; but as no deterioration has as yet been observed in the wool of the sheep depasturing 200 miles to the northward of the Tropic of Capricorn, there is reason to believe that sheep may be depastured on land otherwise fit for that description of stock, without materially, if at all, affecting the quality of the wool, to the very northern extremity of the Australian land at Cape York, in lat. 10° 37′ S.

The adaptation of Queensland to sheep-farming, and the good condition of both sheep and cattle generally in that colony, arise from the superior quality, the variety and the abundance of the indigenous vegetation. The greater frequency and abundance of rain in Queensland, in consequence of its vicinity to the tropics, ensures not merely abundance, but the greatest variety imaginable in the indigenous vegetation in every department of the vegetable kingdom. As an instance of this variety, the distinguished, but unfortunate explorer, Dr. Leichhardt, found not fewer than 110 different species of trees, exclusive of parasitical plants and shrubs, in the brush, or alluvial flat-land of Moreton Bay, and twenty-seven in the open forest; the number of different species in European forests being generally not greater than ten or twelve: and along only thirty paces of a cattle-track at Limestone Plains, near Ipswich, he found not fewer than *seventeen different species of grass in seed at the same time*, independently of whatever additional number might have passed their usual

seed-time or not have arrived at it. In short, the superior quality of soil, in any particular instance, and its peculiar adaptation to all the purposes of man, are to be ascertained not so much from the abundance as from the variety of the vegetation deriving nourishment from it.

Sheep average from 70 to 80 lbs., and cattle 13 to 14 cwt. in Queensland; and whereas the usual allowance of the average run of pasture land for the grazing of a sheep in New South Wales is 3½ acres, or three sheep to every ten acres, the officer in charge of the Government stock, when Moreton Bay was a penal settlement, was able to keep 6000 sheep in good condition for eighteen months together on 5000 acres of land. This was done at a station on the Logan River, where, as also on its principal tributary, the Albert, there is a large extent of land of the first quality, as well for cultivation as for pasture; there being as much as 100,000 acres of such land in one locality on that river in a single block. And as the head waters of the Logan take their rise on the opposite sides of Mount Lindsay, which rises to the height of nearly 6000 feet above the level of the sea, and issue from the mountain in delightfully cool streams warbling over a pebbly bed, the scene is not less picturesque and beautiful than the land is well adapted either for pasture or for cultivation.

As the squatting system has hitherto been the principal source of wealth to the colonists of Queensland, and is likely to be so for many years to come, it may not be out of place to give a rapid glance at that system and its developments in Queensland.

It was a favourite theory with the infidel philosophers of last century, that man originally existed as a wild hunter, eating the fruits and roots which the earth produced spontaneously, and traversing its vast forests, without any settled habitation, in search of game.* Some benefactor of his species, however, whose

* "The discoveries of ancient and modern navigation, and the domestic history or traditions of the most enlightened nations, represent the human savage naked both in mind and body, and destitute of laws, of arts, of ideas, and almost of language. From this abject condition, perhaps *the primitive and universal state of man*, he has gradually risen to command the animals, to fertilise the earth, to traverse the ocean, and to measure the heavens." —GIBBON.

There is not even the shadow either of evidence or of probability for the allegation that the savage state was *the primitive and universal state of man*. The voice of history, both sacred and profane, proclaims the con-

name, unfortunately, has not descended to posterity, hit upon the happy expedient of taming the wild sheep, the wild cow, and the wild horse, and subjecting these animals, in a domesticated state, to the uses of man. The painted savage then made himself a movable tent to live in, covered with the skins of his sheep and goats; removing it, successively, from one squatting station to another, according as the grass or the water failed, and traversing the open country with his flocks and herds, like those ancient squatters, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, of happy memory. The earth was then a vast common, to which no man pretended to have any other right than the right of temporary occupancy, which was supposed to cease and determine the moment he struck his tent and removed his flocks and herds to a different *run*. There were no cities or towns at this period, and no such division of labour as we have now; every squatter being shoemaker and tailor, house-carpenter and weaver, butcher and baker,—in short, a perfect jack-of-all-trades,—for himself. This, moreover, was the golden age of the world—at least the poets have told us so, and the philosophers do not contradict them—peace and harmony reigned everywhere, and uninterrupted felicity. It is somewhat unfortunate, indeed, for this theory, that so early in the history of squatting as the era of the patriarch Isaac—of whom we are divinely told that "the man waxed great and went forward, and grew until he became very GREAT, *for he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants;*" the items constituting his greatness being thus precisely those that constitute the greatness of an Australian squatter—it is peculiarly unfortunate for the theory in question, that so early as the era of Isaac there were exactly the same quarrels and contentions between rival squatters about their wells, or "water-holes," whether the latter were natural or artificial, as still occur occasionally in Australia; and the case of the sons of Jacob kidnapping their own brother, and selling him for a slave, not to mention that of Simeon and Levi and their stockmen sacking a whole town, is rather unfortunate for the

trary. Nay, there is not even the shadow of evidence to prove that in any one instance in the history of man, a people in such a state as the eloquent historian describes, has raised itself, by its own inherent energies, to a state of civilisation.

character of this golden age; for we have no reason to suppose that the shepherds of Arcadia were a whit better than those of Syria and Palestine.

The next step in human progression was the conversion of the squatter into an agriculturist, or tiller of the ground; on which occasion, we are told, he converted his tent into a permanent dwelling-house, and his right of occupancy into a fee-simple.

It would doubtless have been very interesting to the philosophers of last century to have seen their theory so beautifully illustrated, as it is unquestionably, to a certain extent, in Australia. In that country, in its natural state, man is exactly in the condition in which he is represented to have been universally in the primitive earth of the philosopher,

"When wild in woods the naked savage ran."

The period of transition, however, arrives with the European squatter, who takes possession of a large tract of the waste unoccupied country, with his flocks and herds, and calls it his *run;* getting a licence from the local government, for which he pays £10 a year, and which secures him, for the time being, in the occupation of an extent of perhaps 120 square miles of good natural pasture, and perhaps ordering or hunting off the unfortunate aborigines — who, in all likelihood, were born upon the spot, and can have no idea either of the nature of the licence, or of the paramount authority from which it emanates — from the said *run.* For it is here that the philosopher's theory altogether fails; the squatter is not the wild hunter or savage man, *elevated,* so to speak, by his own native energies, *above himself,* but a totally different man altogether, who takes possession of the native country of the latter, without permission and without compensation, and calling it his *run,* orders the native off, because, forsooth, his cattle somehow do not like black men, and start off in a fright at the sight of them! In short, it is scarcely possible to contemplate the natural condition of the aborigines of Australia, and their universal and determined adherence to their savage mode of life, even after being half a century in close contact with European civilisation, without being driven, perforce, to the conclusion, that if the wild hunter or savage state had

been the primitive and original state of man, he would have continued a savage to all eternity. Not only is there no instance in any country of the savage ever raising himself, by his own native energies, above his natural condition; he actually resists every effort to effect his elevation in the scale of humanity, when such efforts are made by others. This is, doubtless, a most important fact in the natural history of man; especially as it demonstrates the utter vanity of that "philosophy falsely so called," which sets itself in opposition to the testimony of God.

From the hints I have just given, two things must be obvious to the reader.—First, that, considering the amazing rapidity with which sheep and cattle increase in all parts of Australia, and the large extent of land occupied by each squatting station, the occupation of all the available portion of that vast continental island with the flocks and herds of Europeans, will be effected in a comparatively short period of time, under the present squatting system; and, secondly, that the extension of that system will almost necessarily involve the speedy extinction of the aboriginal race. Even where actual collision does not take place between the white and black races, the latter, like the leaves in autumn, uniformly disappear before the progress of European colonisation, at a lamentably rapid rate, which even European vice and European disease are insufficient to account for; * but when hostile aggression on either side, followed by something like a war of extermination, comes in aid of this natural decay of the feebler race, the process of extinction is fearfully accelerated. It cannot be denied that such aggression is sometimes commenced by the black natives, and without any apparent provocation; but in by far the greater number of instances it originates with the Europeans. The very prohibition of the aborigines to "walk all about," as they express it themselves in their broken English, in the land and on the spot of their birth—a prohibition, perhaps enforced with threats, and sometimes even with the dogs and guns of the squatters, and their stockmen—is itself an aggression of the most serious description to the hapless aborigines; for

* This rapid disappearance of the aboriginal races of all the British Colonies, even in circumstances much more favourable for their preservation than those in which the squatting system has unfortunately placed the aborigines of Australia, is a phenomenon in the science of ethnology equally lamentable and unaccountable.

as the country is all parcelled out among the different tribes, each having its own well-known boundaries, a tribe which has been driven from its own hunting-grounds by European intrusion has no place to retreat to; as the fact of its entrance without permission into the territories of other tribes, is held tantamount by the natives to a declaration of war.

There was a great sacrifice of human life on the part of the aborigines, although to what extent I could not exactly ascertain, and a great destruction of European property in sheep and cattle, in the attempt to form an extensive squatting station, undertaken on account of a large proprietor of stock in New South Wales, at Wide Bay, in latitude 26° S., about twenty years ago; and in conversing on the subject with a Scotch runaway convict from Moreton Bay, whom I shall have occasion hereafter to introduce to the reader, and who had resided and been naturalised and domesticated among the natives of that part of the territory for upwards of fourteen years, I was much pleased with the good feeling exhibited by the man, who appeared sincerely to regret this loss of life as well as of property, and who assured me that if he himself, or any other person at all acquainted with the habits and feelings of the natives, had been at the squatting station at Wide Bay, there would not have been a single head either of sheep or of cattle lost, and peace and harmony would have been maintained between the squatters and the natives. The station had ultimately to be abandoned at a great loss to the proprietor; but other stations have since been formed, under better management, and with corresponding success, both at Wide Bay and hundreds of miles farther to the northward.

This state of mutual distrust and apprehension on the part of the two races, on certain of the frontier stations, gave rise to a horrible practice, which I fear, however disgraceful to the British name, was at one time but too extensively prevalent in Australia—I mean, that of mixing up arsenic or corrosive sublimate in the *dampers* or *hominy*, the unleavened wheaten cakes baked in the ashes, or the maize-meal porridge with which the settlers and squatters occasionally treat the natives. The idea that such a thing had been done in any part of the British Empire has doubtless been scouted in certain quarters; but I have no doubt whatever that it was again and again. Nay, it is

consistent with my own knowledge that it has been openly defended and justified by people who have had not less than "ten years' experience in the bush in New South Wales," and whose education, whose profession, and whose station in society ought to have taught them better things.

The subject of the poisoning of the black natives happened to be mentioned at a meeting of a committee of the legislative council of New South Wales, on the state of the aborigines, during the session of 1845, of which I happened to be a member; and one of the members having expressed a doubt as to whether such an atrocity had ever been practised in the colony, W. Suttor, Esq., M.C. for the county of Roxburgh, stated, that he had hired a free immigrant from England some time before, either as a shepherd or hut-keeper, for a station to the westward of Bathurst; and as the black natives had been rather troublesome in the neighbourhood shortly before, he asked the man when ready to start, whether he was under any apprehensions from the natives? "Oh no," replied the man, with an air of confidence; and going to his box which was just about to be placed on a dray to proceed to the station, and producing a brown-paper parcel, he added with a sort of triumph, "I have got something here that will keep them quiet." Mr. Suttor thought the paper might contain powder and shot; but he found to his horror, on further inquiry, that it contained arsenic! I need scarcely add, that Mr. Suttor took the paper from the man, and told him he could allow no such practices at any station of his. This man had been little more than six months in the country at the time; but he had been long enough in it to have learned how the black natives were treated, when they were at all troublesome, at certain other stations in the colony.

There is reason to believe, however, that these atrocious practices have been in great measure, if not entirely, discontinued in all parts of Australia for the last ten years; and the settlement of a pretty numerous body of reputable free emigrants from the mother-country in the principal localities of Queensland has doubtless contributed in no small degree to so desirable a consummation in that colony.

The Australian squatter is a being perfectly *sui generis*: there is nothing like him in any other part of the British dominions;

there is nothing at all analogous to him in the United States of America. In the latter country the term implies some person of the humbler walks of life, whose only property is an axe, with a few articles of household furniture and implements of agriculture, and who goes forth into the vast forests of the frontier-settlements, clears, fences, and cultivates a few acres of land, and erects upon it a log house; the whole of which, designated in the language of the country his *betterments*, together with his right of pre-emption, which his adventurous labours as a squatter have secured, and which the national government very wisely respects, he probably sells to the first emigrant who heaves in sight, either from Europe or from the Eastern States, and then moves off farther west, to repeat the same process afresh, as the precursor and pioneer of civilisation. But the Australian squatter is, for the most part, a man of education and respectable connections; and if not a gentleman born and bred, as indeed is not unfrequently the case, he has generally a quantity of stock that implies a pretty large amount of pastoral capital. Owing to the great extent of land occupied by each squatting station, the country available for such pursuits is soon taken up; and as the pastoral country is for the most part quite distinct from the agricultural — the latter being generally alluvial land on the banks of rivers, and often thickly wooded — the two pursuits are mutually helpful to each other, and seldom interfere.

A great impulse has been given of late to the occupation of land for pastoral pursuits in Queensland, from the uncertainty now attending such pursuits in the colony of Victoria, and the much higher rental charged for squatting stations, and the much larger amount of assessment levied on pastoral stock in that colony. Not a few Victorian squatters have sold off within the last two or three years and gone to Queensland; and the whole of the available country described in the series of extracts I have given from the late Sir Thomas Mitchell's expedition into tropical Australia, as well as of the country farther east, previously discovered and traversed by Dr. Leichhardt, in his memorable overland expedition to Port Essington, is now in rapid progress of occupation. In a very few years hence, squatting stations will extend as far as the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria and the northern extremity of the Australian land.

When the squatter has selected and secured his run, and can say for the time being, at least, "I am monarch of all I survey," his first care is to occupy it with his flocks and herds, and to erect temporary dwellings for himself and his servants, as well as folds for his sheep or stockyards for his cattle. In the first instance, these dwellings are generally formed of slabs, and covered with bark; glass windows, a deal floor, a shingled roof, and an additional apartment or two besides the original one that serves for all purposes, with perhaps a neat garden, being added gradually if the squatter is a man of taste and leisure, or has any regard either for personal convenience or for appearances. The cost of such supplies for the station as must be conveyed to it from the nearest considerable town—sugar, tea, and salt, &c., as well as flour and maize, in the first instance—will be greater or less according to its distance, and the facilities or difficulties of transport; but most squatters, at least those at a distance, have sooner or later a patch of cultivation, where they raise sufficient grain for the consumption of the establishment.

Some stations are appropriated entirely to sheep, others to cattle, according to the quality of the pasture, or the caprice of the proprietor; but the greater number have both sheep and cattle, and many squatters rear horses also. The high and dry ground, where the pasture is neither too rich nor too abundant, is best for sheep; the low swampy ground, or the rich alluvial flats, being best adapted for cattle. The number of sheep in a flock is generally from 600 to 800; but in the open country of the Darling Downs, as well as in other tracts of a similar character, as many as from 2000 to 2500 sheep can be run with safety in a single flock. *Runs* or stations are frequently sold with all the stock on them, and it is often difficult to dispose of a large flock or herd of cattle at all, unless the run *is given in* with them. Many thousand pounds are often given for a run, over and above the real value of the stock.

The profits of sheep-farming depend very much on the original cost of the animals, and on the price of wool; but when purchased at a moderate price, and managed with prudence and economy, sheep, although in all circumstances a precarious, are, generally speaking, a highly profitable description of stock. This indeed may be inferred from the numbers of all classes and pro-

fessions who annually abandon the cities and towns of the colonies, and become flock-masters in the vast interior of Australia.

I refrain from giving any formal estimate of the probable profits of squatting, whether on sheep or on cattle, or on mixed stations in Queensland; but the usual estimate for sheep-farming is, that the annual increase of the stock is about 80 per cent., while the wool pays all the expenses of the station, and affords a handsome return for the capital invested. When it was proposed, in the first Parliament of Queensland, that the Governor's salary, which the Secretary of State had fixed at 2500*l.* a year, should be raised to 4000*l.*, the honourable member who proposed the addition observed that 2500*l.* a year was only equal to the income of a second-rate squatter, with 20,000 or 25,000 sheep. And the frequent instances that have occurred of late years of squatters returning to England with large fortunes, some of whom have actually got into Parliament on the strength of their colonial wealth, will sufficiently confirm this statement.

The reader will find in Appendix D one of the Acts of the first Parliament of Queensland, regulating the future occupation of land for pastoral purposes in that colony. One of the measures of Reform which these Acts exhibit is the discontinuance of an enormous abuse which had prevailed for many years previous, and had operated most banefully for the colonies. A class of persons, called Run-hunters, had made a practice of going out well armed and provided, into the vast interior; and wherever they found an eligible tract of country, putting their marks on the trees to designate the boundaries. On returning to head-quarters, they would send in a tender to the Government for the *Run*, without, perhaps, having a single head either of sheep or of cattle to place upon it, merely to sell the right they had thus acquired to *bonâ fide* squatters. One gentleman of this class, a geographical explorer too, tendered at one time for not fewer than twenty-six different *Runs*, while another had tendered, also, for a sufficiently large number to have enabled him to make a pretty handsome fortune by selling his imaginary rights to a whole series of *Runs*. By one of the recently-passed Acts of the local Parliament, however, this iniquitous practice is put an end to; as any person tendering for a *Run* in future, must have it stocked to a

certain extent, within twelve months, under the penalty of forfeiture to the Crown, if left unoccupied.

Next to the native grass, the indigenous timber of Queensland is likely to prove the most valuable of its natural productions; and it cannot be doubted that whenever a numerous and industrious free immigrant population shall have settled in that colony, there will be a large annual export of timber, of the more valuable descriptions, for cabinet-work, to the mother-country. It would be of no benefit to the reader, as well as foreign to my object in this work, to give a *catalogue raisonnée* of the different species of timber in Queensland; but, with a view to exhibit the capabilities of the country as an eligible residence for a European community of British origin, I shall enumerate a few of the more important species, with notanda illustrative of their qualities, localities and uses, for which I am indebted in great measure to Mr. Andrew Petrie, the able and intelligent Superintendent of Government Works at Moreton Bay, while that part of the Australian territory was a penal settlement.

1. *Araucaria Cunninghami*, or the *Moreton Bay Pine.*—This handsome tree, the ornament of the forests of Queensland, resembles in its outline and in the character of its vegetation the swamp oak of New South Wales, but grows to a much greater height—from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet—and yields a much more useful timber. The timber resembles that of the Baltic, or the North Carolina pine, and appears to be of a much more valuable quality than the Canadian timber. It is used for the same purposes, and is cut into boards for exportation. There are two varieties of this pine—that of the mountains, and that of the plains or alluvial flats on the banks of rivers. Of the former of these varieties, Mr. Petrie, who first observed its superior qualities, states, that, "it is little inferior to the Bunya-Bunya pine," to be afterwards described. "It is well adapted for masts and spars, and grows nearly as large as the Bunya; no sap nor knots to injure the spars."

2. *Araucaria Bidwellia*, or the *Bunya-Bunya Pine.*—"This tree," observes Mr. Petrie, "grows to an immense height and girth. I have measured some ordinary-sized trees, 150 feet high, and about four feet diameter. They are as straight and round as

a gun-barrel. The timber grows in a spiral form, and would answer admirably for ships' masts of any size. This pine bears a great strain transversely, one of its superior qualities; also there is no sap-wood nor knots in the barrel, the lateral branches being never above two or three inches in diameter, and growing from the outer rind of the tree. The fruit of this pine is a large cone or core, about nine inches by six, and covered with small cones similar in appearance to a pine-apple. It is these small nuts that the blacks eat; they travel two or three hundred miles to feed on this fruit. It is plentiful every three years. This timber grows in latitude 25° and 26°, and about 60 miles in longitude. It is not known at present to grow anywhere else. It grows plentifully in these latitudes." Mr. Petrie adds, "I was the first person who risked my life with others in procuring the first plants of this tree, and Mr. Bidwell," from whom it is named, "was some years after me."

3. *The Red Cedar of New South Wales.*—This valuable timber, the finer specimens of which are equal in richness and beauty to any mahogany, is found on the alluvial land along all the coast rivers of Queensland; and it is principally from these rivers that the supply for New South Wales is now procured. On most of the rivers that fall into Moreton Bay, the cedar has been long since cut away; for a provident government, utterly at a loss to devise proper employment for the convicts, during the continuance of the penal settlement, employed them in cutting down the valuable timber, in all the easily accessible localities on the Bay, to the serious disadvantage and loss of the inhabitants now; and large quantities of that timber were actually piled up, and left to rot on the beach at Dunwich, Stradbroke Island, after all the labour that had been thrown away in procuring it. On the rivers to the northward of Moreton Bay, as also on the coast range to the eastward of the Darling Downs, this valuable timber is still abundant. This will doubtless prove of no small importance to the future inhabitants of that splendid country, as soon as it ceases to be a mere sheep-walk, and is inhabited, as it doubtless will be at no distant period, by a numerous and thriving agricultural population.

4. *Iron-Bark.*—"This tree grows plentifully in the forest,

and is suitable for house or ship-building, and is a valuable timber."

5. *Blue-Gum.*—"This is another valuable hard-wood timber, and is well adapted for all kinds of carpentry work."

6. *Box.*—"This timber is very suitable for all agricultural implements, and for many other purposes."

7. *Rose or Violet-Wood.*—"This is a valuable timber, and is suitable for gig-shafts, &c., being similar to our lance-wood at home. The aborigines make their spears of this wood, and they know the art of straightening them when crooked."

8. *Silk-Oak.*—"This is a very beautiful tree, and the timber is well adapted for the sheathing of vessels, and many other useful purposes."

9. *Forest-Oak.*—"Known also by the name of Beef-wood; suitable for tool-handles, bullock-yokes, &c. It is used principally for fire-wood."

10. *Tulip-Wood.*—"This wood is suitable for fancy cabinet and turning-work. It grows in the scrub. The tree appears like a cluster of Gothic columns."

"There are a great many other species of valuable timber in this district," observes Mr. Petrie, "that I have not described, not having specimens to give you. Logwood and fustic have been procured here. The timber-trade will form one of the principal branches of our future commerce." I have already mentioned the cypress-pine as an ornamental timber, peculiar to the district. Satin-wood and yellow-wood are the names of two other species that are used in the same way.

"I have sent you," adds Mr. Petrie in the communication from which I have just been quoting, "a small sample of the native gums. Gums could be procured in this district in considerable quantities." I had picked up a few specimens of gum in Queensland myself, and I have no doubt that the export of this article will be very considerable as soon as there shall be a sufficient amount of disposable labour to procure it. There are several species of gum-yielding trees in the forests of Moreton Bay, and, as far as I could judge from appearances, the gums of the most valuable description are the produce of trees growing on the poorest land. In passing rapidly by the railway through North Carolina in the

United States of America in the year 1840, I observed that millions of the pine-trees along the line of the railway, growing on the sterile tract constituting what the Americans call the pine-barrens, had been tapped for turpentine or rosin. Now if the collection of these inferior gums constitutes a remunerating employment for industry, and a lucrative branch of national commerce in America, I am quite confident that one or other of the various gums procurable in comparatively large quantities at Moreton Bay would well repay all the labour that might be expended in collecting it, and form a valuable export for the colony. None of these gums, so far as I know, have as yet been tested or analysed; but it cannot be supposed that some, at least, of the numerous varieties of gum produced in so low a latitude, would not be found highly useful, and consequently highly valuable either in pharmacy, or in the arts and manufactures. The Moreton Bay pine yields a gum which is frequently found in hard masses, wherever the tree has been accidentally wounded, as large as a child's head; and in other varieties of the gum-yielding trees of the district if a gimlet-hole is made in the wood when the sap is up, the gum issues abundantly and quite transparent, hardening gradually on exposure to the air. The collection of whatever variety or varieties of the native gum might be found worth at least the trouble of procuring it, besides paying the cost of its transmission to England, would form a species of light labour by no means disagreeable, and in all probability highly remunerative to the future colonists.

Coal of fair quality is found in great abundance both on the Brisbane and Bremer Rivers; but it is alleged by nautical men that it is not so productive of steam as English coal, or that from Newcastle, in New South Wales. As the strata hitherto worked, however, were those near the surface, it was confidently expected, by an enterprising American, who was working the mines, that coal of a superior quality would be found by going farther down.

There is one other article of production, which certainly does not require the intervention of cultivation of any kind to ensure its being obtainable in any conceivable quantity by careful and industrious people, in Queensland, and for the raising of which the climate and indigenous vegetation are admirably adapted—I mean honey. Honey from the labours of the small, native,

stingless bee of the colony is procured in great quantities by the Aborigines, and forms a frequent and favourite article of their food. But the European bee has been introduced in Australia, and propagated with remarkable success; the number of swarms which a hive in working and breeding order throws off in a given time, and the quantity of honey realised from the stock, with scarcely any trouble whatever, being perfectly incredible to any person acquainted merely with the management of bees, and the results of that management, in England. A settler at Illawarra, in New South Wales, who had directed his attention to this branch of rural economy, had not less than twenty-five hundred weight of honey to dispose of one season. It was sold to a brewery in his neighbourhood at threepence a pound. The climate and vegetation of Queensland are, in my opinion, still better adapted to the bee than those of Illawarra, and the circumstance suggests a source of comfort and wealth to industrious emigrants of the humbler classes that ought not to be despised.

CHAP. VII.

ARTIFICIAL PRODUCTIONS SUITED TO THE SOIL AND CLIMATE OF QUEENSLAND.

It was long alleged by the squatters, and reiterated again and again in their after-dinner speeches — chiefly, I believe, to prevent the intrusion of the class of small farmers, who, they thought, would introduce plebeian principles, and interfere with their *runs* — that Moreton Bay, now Queensland, was too far north for the growth of wheat or any other European grain.

The slightest reference, indeed, to the history of the ancient world might have led any person of the commonest information to a different conclusion. Egypt, and the Roman province of Africa, were for ages the granary of Rome: and we learn from Holy Scripture that wheat, and barley, and flax were the principal agricultural products of Egypt from the highest antiquity. Now the limits of the land of Egypt—"from Migdol," at the mouths of the Nile, to "the Tower of Syene," under the tropic of Cancer — correspond exactly in the northern hemisphere with those of Queensland, extending, as it does, from the 30th parallel of south latitude to the tropic of Capricorn in the southern.

There is reason to believe, therefore, *à priori*, that the range of production in Queensland will be as extensive as in Egypt and Northern Africa, if not actually identical with that of these highly-favoured regions. And as in Egypt the different articles of agricultural produce were cultivated and came to maturity at those seasons of the year that afforded the peculiar temperature they required, so will it also be in Queensland. For example: we are told in the Sacred narrative of the plagues of Egypt, that under the plague of hail "*the flax and the barley was smitten: for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled. But the wheat*

and the rye were not smitten; for they were not grown up." * In all likelihood, this terrible visitation occurred in the month of March or April, when the barley and flax harvest was approaching, as these articles of agricultural produce are of a hardier description and require only a moderate temperature to bring them to maturity. But the wheat and the rye requiring a greater degree of heat to ripen them, their harvest came later, and they were consequently not above ground when the hail ravaged the country and destroyed all the maturer vegetation.

In regard to the adaptation of the soil and climate of Queensland for the growth of wheat, the officer in charge of the Government stock station at Limestone, now Ipswich, when Moreton Bay was a penal settlement, has assured me that he had actually threshed out thirty-four bushels an acre from a stack of wheat grown on that station, although a considerable portion of the grain had been lost through mismanagement, and that that grain had weighed from 62lbs. to 63 lbs. per bushel.

But the question as to the practicability of growing wheat in Queensland was set at rest by the evidence given before a select committee of the first Parliament of that colony during the past year. Two of the witnesses examined by that committee were Joseph Fleming, Esq., now a member of the Legislative Assembly of Queensland, and Herbert Evans, Esq., Clerk of Petty Sessions at Warwick, and a practical farmer on the Darling Downs. Mr. Fleming's evidence was as follows:

Wednesday, 27th June, 1860.

The Hon. R. R. MACKENZIE in the Chair.

Joseph Fleming, Esq. called in and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN: You are settled on the Bremer River, I believe?—Yes, I have steam flour mills there.

Do you cultivate wheat?—Yes.

How do you find it answer?—As far as my experience goes, I have found the cultivation of wheat answer as well here as in any part of the colony—[meaning New South Wales].

* Exodus ix. 31, 32.

You have been an agriculturist, I believe, in other parts?—Yes, I was brought up as such from boyhood.

Do any others beside yourself cultivate wheat here? — Yes, there are a great number of settlers cultivating it in some quantity. Some cultivated it last season and found it answered well, and a great many more have applied for seed wheat this year.

You find it a certain crop? — Yes; one person living alongside of me cultivated wheat for three years, and had a good crop every year.

You have seen the wheat from Darling Downs; is it of a superior kind? — The wheat I have seen came from Warwick, and was equal to any I am getting up from Adelaide.

Was it superior to your own wheat? — No; not superior to that grown on my own farm.

The wheat grown at Ipswich turns out as well as that grown on the Darling Downs? — Equally so.

Do you think it could be grown to any extent about Ipswich? — Labour is the only check, not soil or climate. I think that the land we have in the neighbourhood of Ipswich for many miles is as capable of growing wheat as any parts of these colonies I have been in. My crop of wheat last year averaged thirty bushels to the acre, which is an extraordinary crop. I have ninety acres of wheat sown this year, and the greatest portion of it is as promising now as any crop I have seen.

By Mr. RAFF: I believe you have had some farming experience on the Hawkesbury, and have seen wheat on the Hunter; do you believe that it grows just as well about Ipswich? — I do; the climate is much more favourable to the growth of wheat than it is on the Hunter.

Have you seen smut in the wheat here? — I have not.

Do you subject the seed to steeping in blue stone? — No, not here; but I have seen it done on the other side.

You are aware that it is regularly done by farmers there? — Yes.

So that if smut had appeared in the wheat on this side, you would have prevented it in that way? — Yes.

By Mr. MACALISTER: Hot winds, I believe, are very common on the Hunter? — Yes.

And are very injurious to wheat? — Yes.

They destroy it in no time?—Yes, just in a few days.

Is this colony subject to hot winds?—I have never known any here; or rather, I have experienced only one hot wind during the last ten years.

They are quite common on the Hunter, I believe?—Yes, they have them every season.

Do you consider this district well adapted to raising wheat?—I do.

The evidence of Mr. Evans was to the following effect:—

Herbert Evans, Esq., Clerk of Petty Sessions at Warwick, called in and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN: I believe you have been in the habit of employing men in agricultural pursuits?—Yes, I have done so for the last seven or eight years.

Will you favour the committee with your experience on the subject? Do you think wheat can be grown profitably in your neighbourhood?—With reference to the culture of wheat in the neighbourhood of Warwick, I am of opinion that it can be engaged in successfully. The climate is admirably adapted to the growth of this cereal, and it is altogether exempt from the diseases which are prevalent elsewhere, such as smut, blight, and rust. As far as my experience goes, I am of opinion that the growth of wheat can be profitably undertaken; for, in spite of the obstacles thrown in my way by its conveyance to Ipswich to be ground, and its re-conveyance to Warwick, I find it yields a profit—taking the average of seasons—of about 8*s*. per bushel when made into flour, supposing flour to be worth in Warwick 3*l*. per bag of 200lbs. During my experience for the last four years the wholesale price of flour has never been under, and has often exceeded that price.

To what extent do you think wheat could be grown in the neighbourhood of Warwick?—I can assign no limit.

Is there a large extent of soil adapted to its culture?—I am not prepared to say what extent of available country there is, but I think there are hundreds of thousands of acres.

Then it is not confined to the alluvial soil on the banks of rivers?—No. I imagine it could be grown to a certain distance within the influence of the Main Range.

As you move to the westward? — Yes, I should limit the distance to about fourteen or fifteen miles.

By the CHAIRMAN: Have any failures of crops come under your observation? — Not of wheat.

How long have you grown wheat? — For seven years I have given it a good trial. My first crop was maize, and it was a failure. I then substituted wheat, which I found to answer very well.

You find wheat a comparatively sure crop?—I do; and as an agricultural speculation I should be disposed to enter into it. Even supposing I had a bad season I should be inclined to recommence the same work the following year with the anticipation of succeeding. I may mention that scores of men—small farmers—confine their agriculture entirely to the growth of maize and potatoes, which will naturally decrease in value and become less profitable.

It would not do for those small farmers, I suppose, to send wheat all the way to Ipswich?—They have not the means to do so, nor should I, but that I have teams of my own which would otherwise be lying idle.

Is there sufficient good land in that neighbourhood for the support of a large agricultural population?—Any amount of it.

Presuming that the growers possessed the advantages you speak of?—Of course they could not embark in the pursuit without. What I stated was positively with reference to the profit of growing wheat. I have been in the habit of carrying on my operations entirely by contract. I know the price for ploughing, reaping, stacking, and carting to the mill. I have not a yearly servant in my employ, nor have I had for a considerable time.

Still you think it pays?—Yes; my men are paid higher than they would be elsewhere in the towns. They get a clear 7*s*. per day as an average.

Will you state the price you have been in the habit of paying for each description of work?—I pay for ploughing, finding the plough and cattle, 14*s*. per acre; this includes the after operation of harrowing and seeding the ground. I pay 20*s*. per acre for reaping, and 3*s*. per acre for carting and stacking, which takes up but little time, the stack being under the shed. Threshing varies from 1*s*. 3*d*. to 1*s*. 8*d*. per bushel. This is an excep-

tional case; but you ought to have the expense of the whole operation of carting down, in order to arrive at the profit.

My object is to ascertain whether the growth of wheat is profitable on this spot? — Yes.

Have you made any calculation as to the average produce per acre during the last seven years? — It is extremely difficult to say. I should say not less than twenty bushels; but I am satisfied that in a few particular instances the yield has been as high as thirty-five. I have been told by a man who has been in the habit of employing agricultural labourers at home, that twenty bushels per acre would be considered a good crop at home, always supposing that when converted into flour it is worth 3*l.* per bag. Of course I date from that calculation.

You pay 14*s.* an acre for ploughing, seeding, and harrowing. Do you find the seed, the teams, and the plough? — Yes.

Do you employ a man to drive as well? — No, each man works his own team.

Do you use bullocks or horses? — Horses, entirely.

How much land is ploughed in the day? — Half an acre — that is a day's work. I won't let them work the horses more.

With two horses? — Yes, some of the ground is very hard, as hard as a turnpike road.

That is at the rate of 7*s.* per day? — Yes, their calculation is this — 6*s.* a day for ploughing half an acre, and 1*s.* as a set-off against the harrowing.

You were speaking about reaping? How much does a man reap in a day? — A quarter of an acre.

Do not you consider that you get a better day's work by contracting with your men? — Certainly. They work early and late.

And at the rate they contract for they earn good wages and do a good day's work? — Yes.

Are shepherds and watchmen plentiful? — I think there is an average number just now.

What is the rate of wages paid to shepherds? — From 30*l.* to 35*l.*

And to watchmen? — 25*l.*

With rations in each case? — Yes, the usual rations are 8lbs. of flour, 16lbs. of meat, ½lb. of tea, and 2lbs. of sugar.

And bushmen, mechanics, and those sort of men, do they usually engage at yearly wages, and what do they obtain? — They are paid when they are at work, and I am prepared to say they are not satisfied unless they can earn 50*s.* per week each man. If you ask the price of any fencing, you will easily arrive at that conclusion. And they are scarce at this price. There are plenty of them, but they won't take less.

Do you know that from your own experience, or is that the rate which prevails in the town of Warwick? — I believe it is general all through the towns. Married couples can always get from 45*l.* to 50*l.* to shepherd and watch.

Do you think that parties who worked their own farms and were simply agriculturists would make them pay?—They would become affluent. Men that I have taken out of the barracks are now independent and have farms of their own. One man has thirty-five acres in a high state of cultivation.

Is there much demand for agricultural land in the neighbourhood of Warwick?—Yes.

Would there be any difficulty in getting upset prices, 20*s.* per acre?—None at all.

Do you think the land is worth that price?—I do.

Do you know what tracts of country are suitable for agricultural purposes in the neighbourhood of Warwick?—Yes, I think about fifteen miles from the Main Range.

You spoke of some persons who had farmed land and become independent; did they follow any other pursuit?—One man to whom I referred became very successful by farming; he has embarked in no other pursuit, and since he left my service he has been a large holder of land.

Did he work his land in conjunction with some other pursuit? —No, he worked for wages until he had accumulated sufficient money, and then left off labour to farm his own land.

Do you say that land generally is adapted for cultivation, or that it can only be cultivated to advantage within fifteen miles of the Main Range?— I think the land beyond that distance is equally good, but the climate is not adapted to the growth of wheat.

But within fifteen miles of that range must people work the land in conjunction with some other pursuit?— No, the men I

have particularly referred to have not engaged in other occupations.

What do you mean by the influence of the Main Range, do you refer to the elevation or the shelter of the range?—No, to the temperature. The showers are more frequent and the temperature much cooler.

The reduced temperature from the elevation of the country and the frequency of showers, as well as the shelter from westerly winds?—Yes, the tributaries of the rivers are all of a wandering character, and it is upon these little water courses I think a population will be settled. The land is of a first-rate quality; there is a plentiful supply of water, and a great protection from the westerly winds.

Mr. Evans, of whose very able and satisfactory evidence as to the cultivation of wheat in the Darling Downs I have thus given a very copious extract, observes, in that evidence, in regard to the growth of other descriptions of grain, as follows:—

"Maize can be, and is, grown with great success, but from the limited demand for that particular cereal this season, it is only comparatively profitable. The remarks applicable to the culture of maize apply also to barley and oats. These are usually converted into hay. There is no demand for hay in Warwick. Potatoes do remarkably well, but, hitherto, there has been no great demand for them at paying prices."

In short, it has been sufficiently ascertained that the soil and climate of Queensland are admirably adapted for the production of every species of European grain, as well as of those peculiar to warmer climates; for as vegetation goes on without interruption all the year round, the farmer has only to select for the growth of any description of grain the particular season that will ensure the exact temperature required to bring it to maturity; the barley harvest, as being the hardiest grain, coming immediately after the colonial winter, the wheat harvest at the commencement of summer, and the maize harvest so late as to give that inter-tropical grain the full benefit of the heat of summer.

The maize crop is indeed a never-failing crop in Queensland, although less suited than barley, oats, and potatoes for the highlands of the Darling Downs district. The return, on alluvial land, in

good condition, is usually at the rate of eighty bushels an acre. Of the small variety of maize called *Cinquantino*,* or Cobbett's corn, three successive crops have been grown on the same ground in a year. This grain is extensively used as an article of food in the Southern States of North America, and indeed all over the Union. The Americans have various modes of preparing it, both in the form of cakes and in that of puddings. It is a most valuable grain for all descriptions of stock, and there might very soon be a large yearly exportation of it to England from Queensland, were there only a numerous free immigrant agricultural population settled in that colony. It would form an excellent and cheap article of food for the humbler classes at home, either by itself, or mixed with the flour or meal of other low-priced descriptions of grain. Maize has hitherto been very little used as an article of food in Australia, partly from having been given in the form of meal as part of their rations to the convicts, during the continuance of the penal system, under the idea of its being an inferior and cheaper sort of food, but chiefly from the circumstance of the very poorest classes of the community being able at all times to purchase wheaten bread, which they prefer.

Potatoes are cultivated in Queensland, rather because people from the old country are accustomed to the use of them, and prefer them to any other vegetable, than because they are peculiarly suited to the soil and climate; for the potato of the growth of Victoria, ten degrees farther south, is greatly superior to the best I saw anywhere at Moreton Bay.

The sweet potato, however, seems to be peculiarly adapted to the soil and climate of the new colony. It is propagated either from the root or from cuttings of the vine, as it is called, although when propagated in the latter of these modes, it degenerates rapidly. This tuber is astonishingly prolific. Dr. Simpson had been getting some planted in his garden at Red Bank, when I had the pleasure of seeing him there; and in accompanying me through the garden, he observed that maize and the sweet potato were the staple and never-failing agricultural productions of the district, and that many of the tubers turned out from the

* It is so called from the Italian word signifying *fifty*, because it is supposed to come to maturity in fifty days.

plants I saw in progress would in all likelihood be eleven pounds in weight each. Mr. Wade had seen one that weighed eighteen pounds, and another gentleman, one of twenty-three pounds; but I have since heard of one that had been forwarded from the district to Sydney, prior to the arrival of any of these gentlemen, that was called "the infant," from its resemblance to a child, and that weighed considerably upwards of thirty pounds. When propagated from the root in rich alluvial soil, the sweet potato will yield forty tons per acre. As an article of food this tuber is very little if at all inferior to the common potato, and when mashed up with milk and pepper into a sort of pudding, it forms a most palateable article of food. The Americans are very fond of it, especially for ship stores; and an American whaling captain, who had been wrecked on the coast to the northward, many years ago, and had reached Moreton Bay in his boats, gave it as his opinion that if the port were only better known, the facility of obtaining maize-meal and sweet potatoes, with the other supplies that are likely to be procurable there at a very moderate cost, would be sure to attract many of the American South Sea whalers, in preference to any other Australian port.

But the sweet potato would be highly valuable to an industrious population settled in Queensland, not so much as an article of food for man, as for the feeding of pigs and the curing of bacon. After having been reared for a certain period on these tubers, a comparatively small quantity of maize, to be supplied daily to the animals, would bring their flesh to the requisite consistency for all economical purposes; and a most profitable branch of industry (especially for persons of the humbler classes, as it would require no capital to commence with), might thus be created, and another promising channel of colonial commerce opened up.

Arrowroot is now cultivated in Queensland to a limited extent, but with complete success; the quality of the article being pronounced by competent judges equal to that of any they had ever seen, and the produce being at the rate of four tons to the acre.

The pomegranate, the orange-tree, the cotton-tree (Sea Island), the tobacco-plant, the vine, the peach, the pear, the sugar-cane, the bamboo, the mulberry-tree, the castor-oil-tree, the banana

(two varieties), the pine-apple, the fruiting passion-flower, chrysanthemums, larkspurs, roses, strawberries, cabbages, onions, potatoes, carrots, peas and beans, &c., are all found growing luxuriantly in the open air, in the gardens of the more respectable colonists, and all apparently quite at home. In short, the range of productions to which the soil and climate appear to be perfectly adapted, is very extensive; for, situated as it is on the verge of the torrid, although actually in the temperate zone, the peculiar productions of both of these zones seem to regard Queensland as a sort of neutral territory, or debateable land, equally common to both; which they seem, therefore, to consider they have each an equally good right to regard as part and parcel of their respective domains. I shall make a few observations on some of the more important of these productions, principally with a view to point out those of which it appears to me it would be alike the interest and the duty of the mother-country to encourage and promote the cultivation.

Tobacco is one of the indigenous products of Australia. It grows wild on the banks of the Hunter, in New South Wales, and I believe also in Queensland. At all events it is an article of produce for which the entire alluvial country throughout that colony is admirably adapted. If this narcotic must still be supplied in such vast quantities from beyond seas, for the consumption of the smoking and snuffing population of Europe, why should Great Britain, with all the pseudo-philanthropy of her abolitionist agitation in America, and her expensive Guarda Costas in Africa, neglect the only effectual means of aiming a decisive blow at the existence of slavery in the United States, and everywhere else throughout the civilised world, by encouraging the growth of this and all the other slave-grown productions of modern commerce by means of free labour in her own colonies? I do not mean *encouragement* in the form of protecting duties in favour of the colonies, but in the way of affording facilities for the emigration of her own virtuous and industrious but redundant population, so as to enable them to render their labour available to the utmost extent, not only for their own individual benefit, but for the advancement of the general interests of the empire and of humanity. The government and legislature of Queensland, I am happy to state, have, in the exercise of the soundest wisdom and

the noblest patriotism, done everything in their power, as will be seen in the sequel, to discharge this important duty to society and the world.

Indigo is indigenous in Australia, and could be cultivated, and supplied for the home market, to any conceivable extent, by an agricultural population from the mother-country. An indigo-planter from India, who had become a squatter in Queensland, and was anxious, like many of his class, to promote the introduction of Coolie labour into the colony, used to maintain, while admitting the perfect adaptation of the soil and climate to the cultivation of the plant, that as it was necessary, in the manufacture of indigo, for the labourers to descend into the fermenting vats and to move about in them up to their neck in the liquid, stirring up the stuff from the bottom with their feet, Europeans would be dyed *blue* in the process, and be white men no longer; whereas the Coolie, being naturally black, could suffer nothing from a slight change of hue. But it would surely be quite unnecessary; in the present state of the arts and manufactures of Great Britain, to employ men at all for the stirring up or trituration of the fermenting mass of vegetation in an indigo vat. In the event of the cultivation of indigo for the home market, by a European population settled in Queensland, some suitable machine would very soon be invented for the purpose, which would not only enable the colonists to dispense with Coolies, but allow the white man to retain his natural colour.

As the mulberry-tree grows luxuriantly at Moreton Bay, the rearing of silk-worms and the production of raw silk might be carried on in Queensland to any conceivable extent. This is a species of industry that has the twofold recommendation of requiring no capital to commence with, and of affording a light and remunerative employment to children and females. In the neighbourhood of Damascus, in Syria, the small farmers pay their rent and taxes with the money they receive from the silk-merchants for the raw material with which they supply them, in small quantities individually, and which they also exchange for the manufactures of England and France; and there is no reason whatever why the future farmers of Queensland should not find a mine of wealth in this important branch of industry. The production of silk has been introduced as a branch of agricultural

industry, within a comparatively recent period, into Lombardy, in Italy, where it is now extensively and successfully pursued; and great efforts have also been made, with what success I am unable to state, to introduce and naturalise it in the United States of America. Now, I am confident that there is no part either of the north of Italy or of the United States of America in which the soil and climate can possibly be better adapted either to the growth of the mulberry-tree or to the constitution and habits of the silk-worm, than those of Queensland. Experiments have frequently been made with silk-worms in New South Wales, and with uniform success; but merely, I regret to add, as a matter of curiosity, and with no idea of following up the successful experiments by establishing another branch of colonial industry.

I have already observed that the climate of Queensland, (occupying as it does a corresponding position on the opposite side of the globe), must be very similar, if not exactly like, that of Egypt; always excepting the insalubrity of the latter country and its frequent visitations of the plague. Why then should flax, which is indigenous in Australia, as well as tobacco and indigo, not be cultivated in the one country, just as it was from the earliest antiquity in the other? Simply, I would answer, because there is not yet a numerous and redundant population in Queensland, to avail themselves of the manifold resources of the country, as there was in ancient Egypt, when flax was cultivated by every farmer in the field, and fine linen manufactured on the looms of every Egyptian city.'

There are other two articles of artificial produce for which the soil and climate of Queensland are admirably adapted, and which might be grown by European and British labour to any conceivable extent in that colony, viz. cotton and sugar. As I propose, however, to devote a separate chapter to the former of these articles, I shall occupy the sequel of this chapter with a few observations on the cultivation of the sugar-cane by means of British labour, and the manufacture of sugar in Queensland. I have already stated, in a former chapter of this work, that a M. Adam, a French planter from the Mauritius and the Isle of Bourbon, had formed a plantation of sugar-cane near Grafton, on the Clarence River, in latitude 29½° S., that is, two degrees of latitude south of Brisbane, Queensland, and that the canes were

unusually healthy and vigorous, and would yield, according to the estimate of M. Adam, four tons of sugar to the acre.* Now, as there are many small farmers settled on the Clarence River, by whom all the operations of husbandry are performed with impunity at all seasons of the year, there is nothing in the whole process, either of the cultivation of the cane or the manufacture of the sugar, which such persons could not perform, with as great facility as any connected with the usual processes of European farming. The question, therefore, of the applicability of European or British labour to this branch of tropical husbandry is already decided in the affirmative.

There is a very prevalent idea, however, in England, that the cultivation of the sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar must always be conjoined, and be carried on by the same persons; and that as this can only be effected by means of an extensive combination of labour and the investment of a large amount of capital in the requisite buildings and machinery, it is a branch of business that can only be pursued successfully either in connection with the system of slavery, or when the party engaged in it has a large capital to expend in the employment of free labour. But this idea has arisen entirely from the long prevalence of the system of slavery in our West India Colonies; for there can be no

* Mr. Thomas Scott, a respectable proprietor at Brisbane Water, in New South Wales, who had previously been a planter in the West Indies, has raised at the rate of three tons of sugar to the acre in that locality, although Brisbane Water is in so high a latitude as 33° 20′ south. Mr. Scott had been employed many years before, when New South Wales was a penal colony, as a sugar planter, under the local Government, at the then penal settlement of Port Macquarie, in latitude 31° 30′ south; but it has been alleged that the sugar manufactured from the cane in that locality was characterised by a degree of acidity which indicated the necessity of resorting to a still lower latitude, to develope the saccharine principle of the plant with complete success. Whether M. Adam's plantation on the Clarence River is far enough north for this purpose I cannot say, but he is satisfied it is himself. I should prefer, however, making such an experiment anywhere on the coast to the northward of Brisbane. The State of Louisiana, in America, the only one in which the sugar-cane is cultivated and sugar manufactured in that country, corresponds in point of latitude in the northern hemisphere with the country extending from the Clarence River to Brisbane Water in New South Wales in the southern. But Mr. Stirling, the author of the letters from the Slave States of America, which I have already quoted, is of opinion that this branch of cultivation must be abandoned in that State, as being too far north for the plant. The cold in America, however, is much more intense than in the corresponding latitudes in Australia.

better reason assigned why the colonial farmer who cultivates the sugar-cane should also be able to superintend and conduct the delicate chemical processes of a sugar-manufactory, so as to monopolise in his own person both of these very different and distinct branches of business, than there can be for requiring the British corn-grower to be also a miller and a baker, or the British flax-grower to be also a flax-dresser and a weaver. Nay, as the operation of transforming the rich juice of the cane into sugar is a chemical process requiring the utmost tact and long experience to ensure its success, while the operations of grinding and weaving are merely mechanical, it seems to me pre-eminently absurd to identify the cultivator and the manufacturer in the one case, and to keep them distinct in the other. No doubt when a planter had three or four hundred negro slaves on his estate, it was desirable, in order to keep these slaves constantly employed, to transform the farm, every season after the crop had been got in, into a manufactory; but the combination of the two distinct branches of business is contrary to the first principles of political economy, and to the uniform practice in every department of industry in the mother-country.

If the West India system of combining the cultivation of the cane with the manufacturing processes implied in the conversion of its juices into sugar, were absolutely necessary to the production of that commodity, I should scarcely recommend the cultivation of the cane in Queensland, as the prospect of deriving any profit from the investment of so large a capital, and the maintenance of so extensive an establishment as the speculation would imply, would be very precarious. But if an establishment were to be formed for the manufacture of sugar in a central situation, on any one of the rivers on the coast, to be conducted by persons thoroughly acquainted with the process, and making it their exclusive business (purchasing the canes from the farmers, either at the boiling-house or in the field), I am confident the speculation would prove highly remunerative to all concerned. In that case every small farmer could have his cane-patch (to use the appropriate phrase of the West Indies) as well as his portion of ground under maize, wheat, or sweet potatoes, and there would be just as little difficulty of disposing of the cane to advantage, as there is at present in disposing of the wheat or the maize; for if

the sugar-manufacturer did not give the colonial farmer a fair price for his canes, an opposition-concern would very soon be got up to ensure justice to the cultivator.

This idea of the separation of the two branches of business implied in the production of sugar—the cultivation of the cane, and the manufacture of the commodity—was some time since urged very strongly, although I am not aware with what effect, on the planters of the Mauritius by the press of that colony; for, as the apparatus required for the manufacture of sugar is very expensive, while modern science has suggested various improvements which can only be carried into effect on a large scale, and by persons thoroughly acquainted with the process, it is conceived that a great saving would be effected both of material and of labour, if the two branches of the business were to be completely separated.

The population of the Australian colonies is at present about 1,100,000, and rapidly increasing; and the consumption of sugar by that population is much greater than that of any European country, and probably of any equal amount of population on the face of the earth. There is no want, therefore, of a ready and sufficiently extensive market, while the voyage to and from the Mauritius or Manilla, from whence the present supplies for the Australian colonies are almost exclusively derived, would afford ample protection to the Australian planter.

Conjoined with these great advantages, the encouragement held forth by the Government of Queensland for the promotion of emigration to that colony would afford a certain and splendid prospect for any intelligent capitalist going out to establish an extensive sugar manufactory in Queensland. For, as he would receive from the local government thirty acres of land for every adult labourer he should carry out with him, whether male or female, and half that extent for each child, he could apportion small farms to all his labourers, and receive payment in labour at a certain equitable rate, and within a fixed period of time. In short, I am quite confident there is no speculation which at this moment would be attended with less risk, or would offer a more certain prospect of success, than the one of which I have thus sketched out the details.

Having touched at Pernambuco, in the Brazils, on one of my voyages to England from New South Wales, I visited one of the

Engenhos, or sugar mills, in the vicinity of that city; and the result was very strongly to confirm me in the opinion I had previously formed as to the entire practicability of conducting that branch of tropical cultivation and manufacture, with the fairest prospect of adequate remuneration both for labour and capital, by means of European free labour in the northern districts of Australia.

On arriving at the Engenho, we found that the crop, or canes, had been all cut, and was then undergoing the operation of being converted into sugar. For this purpose, the canes are cut as near the ground as is thought proper, to secure the whole of the saccharine matter; and the leaves and tops being then cut off, the latter are burnt on the field with the roots, to manure the ground, I presume, for the next crop. The canes are then pretty much like walking staffs, only a little longer*; and in this state they are packed into as primitive a machine as I have ever seen. It is a sort of wooden pannier, fitted to a correspondingly rude saddle, on the back of a horse, and forming a basket or frame, of which the end view resembles the letter V, on each side of the animal, and which reaches nearly to the ground. Into these baskets or panniers, the canes are packed, and the horse is then led or driven with his load by a negro to the Engenho or mill. The Engenho consists of a long wooden shed, roofed, as is usual in the Brazils, with tiles. These tiles are very differently formed from ours. They are like the ridge tiles used in England, and the lower series (for there are always two) are laid with the concave side up; the upper series being laid with the convex side up, so that each upper row of tiles, from the eaves to the ridge, covers the edges of the two adjoining rows below, the concave surface of which serves as a channel or gutter, for carrying off the water from the upper row in seasons of rain.

At the extremity of the shed, there was a common undershot water-wheel—for there seemed to be no want of water in the vicinity—which set in motion in opposite directions two rollers, leaving a space between them sufficient to admit the end of a

* The canes at Pernambuco are of a very small size. The South Sea Island variety, which is indigenous at Tahiti and New Caledonia, to the eastward of Queensland in the Pacific, are much larger, and I should think correspondingly more productive.

single sugar-cane, which a negro, conveniently seated for the purpose on an elevated bench, supplies one after another, as the former disappear; the canes being handed to him by another negro from the heap outside, on which the horses with the letter V panniers, have discharged their loads. The cane very speedily disappears between the rollers, a few revolutions of which are sufficient to bruise it into a flat ribbon, and to express the whole of its juice; a third negro being employed in removing the bruised canes, on which some cattle were feeding near the mill. Beneath the rollers there is a receptacle for the juice, which runs foaming like milk from a cow in the pail, along a wooden trough which conveys it through a strainer into a large vat, formed apparently of common clay. At this vat a fourth negro stands with a pole about twelve feet long, having a large tin ladle at the end of it, the pole being suspended at about four feet from the ladle by a cord from the roof. This ladle the negro ever and anon dips into the liquid, by topping up the extremity of the pole; and then depressing the latter, he raises up the ladle somewhat above the level of the first vat, and pushing it in the proper direction, pours its contents into one or other of three or four boilers ranged along the wall, and considerably elevated on a sort of platform, in which the liquor is boiled. A fifth negro is employed in skimming off the scum from the surface of the boiling vats, and a sixth in supplying fuel, chiefly twigs and saplings, to the furnace which heats the boilers below. Under this process the juice, when cooled, acquires a very agreeable taste, and may be drunk with impunity.

When the process of boiling has been carried to a sufficient extent, the liquor is transferred into earthen coolers, like large flower-pots, arranged longitudinally along a series of planks, laid across a portion of the shed, having a round hole excavated right through the plank, under the spot where each cooler rests, that the molasses which escape from the crystallising mass of syrup, by a hole in the bottom of the cooler, may run off freely. At the opposite extremity of this part of the shed, there is a common receptacle for the molasses, which flow from the whole of the coolers.

When it is intended to improve the colour and quality of the sugar, at the expense of quantity, the simple application of clay

to the crude mass produces a remarkable change in its whole substance, of which, however, it is not necessary to explain the rationale.

When the mass in the coolers has been sufficiently crystallised, and the molasses drained off, the sugar is spread out upon a series of tables, having each a wooden rim to prevent any from falling off, and it is then dried in the sun, and forthwith packed up for sale or exportation. In short, the whole process is exceedingly simple; and the machinery, although of the rudest and cheapest description imaginable, is quite sufficient for the manufacture of an article of produce which forms one of the great staples of the country. I should have formed a very different estimate of the real requisites for the manufacture of sugar, if I had only seen one of our own great estates in the West Indies, under the old régime, having an establishment perhaps of 500 or 600 slaves, with extensive buildings and costly machinery.

In regard to the cultivation of the cane, it appeared to be still more simple than the manufacture of the sugar. All that is requisite is to cut the cane into proper lengths, (for it is propagated from shoots, which spring from the joints,) and to place these at proper distances in the ground, after it has been duly prepared for the purpose, covering them over slightly with earth. When the shoot, (which exactly resembles that of the maize-plant,) has attained a proper height, it is hilled round, or earthed up, to keep it clear of weeds, and to stimulate the growth of the plant; and this is all that is done to it till it is cut down, and carried to the Engenho. They appear to have two crops a year at Pernambuco; for on the 16th of October, shortly after the sun had crossed the line from the northward, the first crop was all harvested, and the second above ground. The latter will probably be ready when the sun crosses the line from the southward. This process must be very exhausting for the ground. Of course it could only be practicable so near the equator.

Now I am quite confident that the same extent of ground could be cultivated with the same facility in Queensland, if laid down in sugar-cane, as if laid down in maize, or Indian corn, the mode of cultivation being precisely the same in both cases. And

from the successful experiment of M. Adam on the Clarence River, there can be no doubt as to the summer heat of any part of the coast line of Queensland being quite sufficient for the due elaboration of the rich juices of the cane. Still, however, I am strongly of opinion, that the entire separation of the cultivation of the cane from the manufacture of the sugar, would be both practicable and highly desirable, in the event of the extensive application of free European labour to this peculiar species of cultivation in Queensland.

Shortly after my visit to the Engenho at Pernambuco, I happened to find the following notice in an English periodical:—

"A mode of separating the cultivation of sugar from the process of manufacture, said to have been invented by Mr. Alexander Gordon Fyfe, has received much attention from the West India interest, who are memorialising the government for a loan to establish central sugar factories in the various islands, that the plan may have a fair trial."

Now this separation of the two departments of labour is all that is wanted to render the cultivation of the cane, by means of British labour in Queensland, both general and profitable; for although the machinery required for the manufacture on the Brazilian plan is very simple and far from costly, small farmers from Europe, who could easily grow a few acres of cane each, could not be expected to incur such trouble and expense as would be requisite even on that economical plan for the manufacture of sugar. Besides, their labour would be much more valuable to themselves in some other way, while the professed manufacturers would be able, on the principle of the subdivision of labour, to carry on the manufacture simultaneously for a whole district at a far cheaper rate, as well as to produce a much better commodity, than could possibly be done by each cultivator acting separately for himself. In short, the settlement of a numerous and industrious British population in Queensland, to grow cotton and sugar, and other tropical productions, which would be quite practicable in that colony, would speedily realise the brilliant dream of the Rev. Charles Kingsley, expressed as follows, in one of his able and interesting papers:—

"The ideal of what a tropical white nation might be, when properly acclimatised (and acclimatisation is now perfectly easy

to the decently sober and prudent man), is, if we will but let our imagination soberly work out the details, too dazzling to be dwelt on long without pain, beside the fearful contrast which the social state of Europe presents to it at this moment, and is likely to present for many a year to come." *

In connection with these notices of the simple or rather rude practice of the Brazilian planter in the cultivation of the sugar cane and the manufacture of sugar, I may be permitted to relate the following "incident of travel," which illustrates rather remarkably the very gratifying effect of the manifestation of a kindly feeling, which I am sorry to say is somewhat unusual, on the part of Englishmen generally, towards foreigners of any nation. After visiting the Brazilian Engenho or sugar mill near Pernambuco, the party of Englishmen, of whom I was the leader for the time, directed their course towards the city of Olinda, chiefly to see the university or college there, which I had been told was the oldest academical institution on the continent of America.

The city of Olinda is situated at the extremity of a highly picturesque ridge of considerable elevation which forms the northern side of the bay or roadstead of Pernambuco, and runs out into the Atlantic Ocean. It forms the easternmost point of South America, and was the land first seen by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, an intelligent Portuguese shipmaster, who accidentally discovered the Brazils, in the course of a voyage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1500, only a few years after the discovery of America by Columbus. For as that is the narrowest part of the Atlantic Ocean, and as the south-east trade wind at certain seasons drives outward-bound vessels, intending to double the Cape of Good Hope, very far to the westward, the Brazilian land is not unfrequently made by such vessels even yet, as it was on that occasion by Cabral. The view of the green heights at Olinda is exceedingly interesting from the ocean, and it is said that when Cabral first saw them, he exclaimed, "O que bonita parte para fundar huma villa!" *O, what a beautiful spot for founding a city!* This idea of the discoverer of the country was accordingly carried out; the city of Olinda was founded, and the usual complement of ecclesiastical buildings,—churches, and monasteries,—successively crowned the heights overlooking the bay

* Kingsley's Miscellanies, ii. 10.

and the ocean, and a university or college was at length added for the education of youth: which, although intended originally, I believe, for candidates for the priesthood exclusively, has been completely revolutionised by the Imperial Government, and now contains faculties of law and medicine, as well as an academy for the preliminary education of youth. The city of Olinda has evidently been at one time a place of considerable importance. At present, however, with the exception of the university, which necessarily attracts the aspiring youth of the northern provinces generally, it has a singularly dilapidated, ruinous, and desolate appearance; the streets being overgrown with grass, and everything wearing the aspect of absolute stagnation. This, however, is to be accounted for in some measure from the superior eligibility of the neighbouring commercial town or city of Recife or Pernambuco; of the origin and physical character of which I have already given some account in a note in p. 16 of this work.

The university, which is beautifully situated on a height overlooking the Bay of Pernambuco and the Atlantic Ocean, had much the appearance of a Romish monastery, for which I have no doubt it was originally intended. One of the professors, whom I met in one of the corridors and addressed in Latin, informing him we were Englishmen who had come to Olinda to see the university, very courteously showed us into a sort of Common Hall, the appearance of which very strongly reminded me of my own *Alma Mater*. It had a pulpit for the professor, elevated on a platform, with a painting of the Emperor Don Pedro under a canopy at his right. The rows of benches were all on the same level, with a passage between the opposite rows to the right and left the whole length of the room. The students, of whom there was a considerable number present, were to all appearance intelligent young men, generally dressed in black and carrying in their hands light canes—an appendage which appeared to me to contrast rather oddly with the business of an Academical Institution.

One of the senior students, who very courteously conducted us to a seat, finding I could not speak Portuguese, and being himself unable to speak French, in which language I addressed him, left us for a few seconds, and returned with a young Brazilian gentleman who spoke French, and undertook the office of *Cicerone*.

The business in progress, he informed me, was the concluding examination of a candidate for the degree of Bachelor-of-Laws, who appeared to be defending a Thesis, and seemed from his modest, unassuming manner, conjoined with an air of confidence, which I thought I could understand, to be maintaining his position remarkably well.

After spending some time in the Common Hall, our Brazilian friend conducted us into a smaller class-room, for the medical department of the institution, where, as far as I could understand the subject, a sort of conversational lecture appeared to be in progress on the practice of Physic. When we had spent a sufficient length of time in this class-room, and found that the other classes had been dismissed, the Brazilian informed me that the degree of Bachelor-of-laws was about to be conferred on the successful candidate for that honour, a cousin of his own, and that if I wished to see the ceremony observed on the occasion, he would be happy to conduct me back to the Hall. I told him I should accompany him with great pleasure, especially as I had the honour of holding an academical degree myself, which, although not quite the same as the one to be conferred, gave me a right to sympathise with those who had been passing through a similar ordeal. In passing along, I was introduced to the Professor of Law, who spoke French, and who, in common with the young Brazilian, and some of the other graduates to whom he mentioned the circumstance, seemed much interested at the presence of a graduate of a European University on such an occasion. They wished particularly to know to what university I belonged, and what degree I held, as well as my position in the remote country from which I had come. I told them in reply that I belonged to the University of Glasgow, in Scotland, my native country, from which I held the degree of *Master of Arts*, and that my fellow-citizens, in the remote British colony from which we had come, and in which I had spent a considerable part of my life, had done me the honour to elect me one of the members of their Legislative Body. A volunteer confession of "heretical pravity" would, I imagined, have served no good purpose at the moment; and with this reasonable portion of the truth, and nothing but the truth, they were all apparently remarkably satisfied.

In conferring the degree of Bachelor-of-Laws, the President of the Institution delivered from the pulpit an address in Portuguese to the successful candidate. He then descended from the pulpit, and took up, from a table adjoining, a red velvet cap, with silk tassels (bonnet rouge), which he placed upon the head of the candidate, while repeating the words of inauguration. The new-made bachelor then bowed to the president, who descended from the platform, and occupied a side-seat below. The bachelor then ascended the pulpit, and sitting down read from a written paper, in Portuguese, an expression of his gratitude for the honour conferred upon him. The bachelor then descended from the pulpit, and received a fraternal embrace from the other members of the University; and as I had been introduced in the mean time as a graduate of a European University, I had the honour for the first time of observing this ancient custom in receiving the young Brazilian graduate as *one of us*.

My Brazilian friend, who, singularly enough, proved to be of Scottish descent—his name being Antonio de Vasconcellos Menezes de Drummond—was anxious to know what the ceremony was in conferring degrees in the Scotch University to which I had belonged. I told him that it was much the same as with themselves, the degree being conferred by the Principal or President placing a black velvet cap or bonnet on the head of the candidate, and repeating a certain form of words; but that instead of a fraternal embrace, we merely gave the right hand of fellowship to the graduate. The Brazilian smiled, observing that embracing was not one of our national customs. It was perhaps as well for our character as Protestants, in the estimation of these Brazilians, that I did not recollect at the moment that the candidate *kneels on one knee* when receiving his degree at the Scotch University, whereas the Brazilian stands erect, which I certainly think the more appropriate posture of the two. Neither did it strike me, till I was on my way back to Pernambuco, that the Statutes of our University had been drawn up, and its ceremonial in all likelihood regulated, by the celebrated Scotch historian and poet, George Buchanan, who had been himself for sometime a professor in the University of Coimbra in Portugal.

The number of students in the University of Olinda was about 200. I was much pleased both with my visit and my reception.

It was evident that I was as much an object of curiosity and interest to the Brazilians, as their institution was to me; and as I happened rather unexpectedly to go on board ship the same evening, after returning to Pernambuco, and consequently lost the pleasure of a visit from my Scoto-Brazilian friend, Senhor Drummond, which he promised to pay me at the Hotel Francisco, I sent him a note, along with the following expression of my good wishes for his cousin, the young bachelor-of-laws, in the hope that it might possibly serve to cultivate a friendly feeling on the part of men of education towards individuals of my own country and nation, in a part of the Brazilian empire which I was not likely ever to visit again.

Viro admodum eximio,
Utriusque juris peritissimo,

JOANNI FRANCISCO DUARTE,

Qui hodie in ædibus Collegii inclyti Olindinenis, Braziliorum,
Legum Baccalaureatus gradum et honores merito ac summa
laude consecutus est,
Ut omnia felicia faustaque eveniant, necnon ut
Summos ad honores inter Jurisconsultos celeberrimos Imperii
Braziliensis, quam citissime provehatur,
Deum Optimum Maximum, per Jesum Christum hominum unicum
Redemptorem, humillime ac lubentissime precatur

JOANNES DUNMORE LANG, Scotus,

Universitatis Glasguensis apud Scotos alumnus,
Artium Magister et Theologiae in eâdem Universitate Doctor,
necnon per suffragia civium suorum, in Colonia Britannica
quæ in Terræ Australis partibus Orientalibus sita est,
habitantium,
Unus e Senatu Provinciali istius Coloniæ,
Nunc in civitate Pernambucensi, rei frumentariæ causa triduum
commorans,
Cras in Britanniam navigaturus.
Olindæ Braziliorum, Decimo Sexto Kalend. Novemb. A.D. 1846.

The whole circumstance had completely faded from my memory, when about a week after my arrival in England, I received a large packet of papers, with a foreign address, which I found had narrowly escaped the oblivion of the dead-letter office, after having failed to find me at the University of Glasgow, to which it was addressed. It contained a very kind and rather flattering letter in French from my Brazilian friend, Senhor Drummond, who, I found, from a Compendium of Roman History he had

translated from the French into Portuguese, of which he sent me a copy, was a native of Pernambuco, a " Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Conception de Portugal, Bachelier des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, Membre Correspondant de l'Institut Historique de France, de l'Académie Tiberine de Rome, de la Société Auxiliatrice de l'Industrie Nationale de Rio de Janeiro, et Membre Honoraire de l'Institut Littéraire de Maranham." It also contained another letter in French, of which the following is a copy, from the young bachelor-of-laws, Senhor Duarte, informing me that I had been proposed and elected an Honorary Member of the Literary Institute of Olinda, and enclosing my diploma; of which, as a literary curiosity, I shall also subjoin a copy, leaving both documents, for the special benefit of the learned reader, in their original tongues: —

Pernambuc, le 13 *Novembre*, 1846.

Monsieur le Docteur JEAN DUNMORE LANG,

Profondément sensible aux preuves non équivoques de considération distinguée que j'ai reçues de vous pendant votre court séjour chez nous, a l'occasion de votre visite à la Faculté d'Olinde, au moment que j'atteignais le but de mes études littéraires, en obtenant l'honorable grade de Bachelier en Droit, je m'empresse de venir aujourd'hui vous témoigner la douce impression que je tiens de votre souvenir.

J'espère, M. le Docteur, que vous continuerez à me donner l'occasion d'apprécier votre estime et bienveillante considération, dont je tacherai d'être toujours digne.

En gage de ma profonde gratitude je viens vous offrir le Diplôme de Membre Honoraire de l'Institut Olindense, lequel dès à présent vous considère une de ses plus brillantes illustrations.

Agréez, M. le Docteur, l'expression sincère de mes sentimens affectueux.

Votre dévoué et très-humble serviteur,

JOAO FRANCISCO DUARTE.

DIPLOMA.

Aos Sabios de Todos os Tempos.

José Bonifacio.	INSTITUTO LITTERARIO OLINDENSE. O illustrissimo Senhor Dr. João Dunmore Lang, foi proposto e approvado para Socio Honorario do INSTITUTO LITTERARIO OLINDENSE em Sessaõ de 24 de Outubro do anno de 1846. E para testemunho Publico lhe envia o presente Diploma,	Platão.
Padre Vieira.		Homero.
Caldas.		Aristoteles.
Maricá..		Plutharco.
Antonio Cárlos.		Newton.
V. de Cayru'.		Bacon.
M. Arruda C.	Dado na Cidade de Olinda aos 30 de Outubro de 1846.	Linéo.
Martim Franc°.		La Place.
Magalhães.	Presidente	Des Cartes.
Gonzaga.	Jeronimo Cabral Raposo da Camara.	Horacio.
Mariz.	Secretario	Virgilio.
Vasconcellos.	Henrique Cavalcanti d'Albuquerque.	Camões.

I shall only add, that if Englishmen were more frequently to exhibit a friendly feeling and deportment towards enlightened foreigners of any nation whatever, it would not unfrequently be attended with the happiest results. We are too shy, too reserved, too exclusive as a people; and the circumstance tells not only against us individually, but even against our common Protestantism, as being, in the estimation of foreigners, an anti-social and repulsive system, that discards even the common courtesies and charities of humanity. The large room in which I occupied a sofa for the night, in the Hotel Francisco, at Pernambuco, was the place of meeting of a club of Englishmen, residing in the city, who assembled in it periodically for certain purposes of their own; and I observed, not without a feeling of indignation, that it was one of the fundamental rules of the club, that no native of the country could be admitted to membership in its body. How different was the feeling of the Jewish prophet, when he wrote from Jerusalem to the Jews in Babylon, "to seek the good of the land" in which they dwelt!

CHAP. VIII.

COTTON, THE FUTURE STAPLE PRODUCTION OF QUEENSLAND.

THE person to whom the idea of growing cotton in the tract of country now called Queensland appears to have suggested itself first, or rather who first made an actual experiment to test its practicability, was the late Dr. Thompson, Inspector of Government Hospitals in New South Wales; who, having previously resided in some cotton growing country, conceived the idea of attempting the cultivation of the plant in that colony. Having accordingly procured a small quantity of Sea Island cotton seed from America, he forwarded it to the overseer of a squatting station which he held near Mount Flinders, in the Moreton Bay country, which was then part and parcel of New South Wales. But Dr. Thompson's affairs having fallen into derangement during a period of extraordinary depression which befell the colony shortly thereafter, and he himself having died before he had sufficiently retrieved his position, the experiment was neglected, and its results were lost for a time to the colony; the persons into whose hands the station subsequently fell being totally ignorant both of the value and of the habits of the plant.

There had been no failure, however, either as regarded the soil or the climate. The cotton plants, which had sprung from the seed imported by Dr. Thompson, had grown vigorously; and Dr. Ballow, the colonial surgeon at Brisbane, having obtained some of the seed during one of his professional visits to the station, he sowed it in his garden at Brisbane, and the plants it had produced were in full bearing when I visited Moreton Bay for the first time in November 1845. I had previously seen the plant under cultivation in the Brazils, both in Rio Janeiro and Pernambuco; and I had visited one or two of the cotton-growing states, parti-

cularly South Carolina, the head-quarters of the present secession movement, in America. I was, therefore, not altogether unprepared to form an intelligent opinion on the subject; and the healthy and vigorous appearance of the plants I then saw suggested a train of ideas of a very interesting character, and opened up to me, in imagination at least, a brilliant prospect not only for Moreton Bay, but for humanity.

It was impossible, for example, for any person at all acquainted with the subject, to see the cotton-plant so strong and healthy as it appeared in the instance I have mentioned — its branches covered with pods and these filled with cotton of snowy whiteness and apparently superior quality — and to doubt for one moment the adaptation of the soil and climate to the growth of that important article of produce. This was the first reflection which the phenomenon suggested. And as all sorts of agricultural labour had been carried on by white men in that vicinity with perfect safety to their health for twenty years before, it was a natural and warrantable conclusion that cotton could be grown by white men at Moreton Bay as well as by slaves and negroes elsewhere. This was the second reflection which the circumstance suggested. And as cotton was an article of agricultural produce for which there is a constant and unlimited demand in Europe, while it is supplied at present to the European market almost exclusively by the labour of slaves, I could not help recognising in what I saw a certain prospect of adequate remuneration for the Australian farmer, who should betake himself to cotton cultivation; while I was led to cherish the hope that the cultivation of cotton by means of British free labour in Australia might be designed by Divine Providence to give its death-blow to negro slavery in America.

All these ideas crowded into my mind simultaneously on seeing the cotton-plants in Dr. Ballow's garden in Brisbane; and I confess I have ever since been endeavouring, under every discouragement, both at home and abroad, to realise them. "Great enterprises," however, as Louis Napoleon very justly observes somewhere, — speaking, doubtless, from his own bitter experience at Boulogne and Strasburg, — "are seldom successful on the first attempt." So I found it also, I confess, in both of the first two attempts I made to induce the cotton interest of this country to

assist in promoting the emigration of a numerous body of industrious and virtuous families and individuals to the Moreton Bay country, now Queensland, to grow cotton for the manufactures of England.

The first of these attempts was made in the year 1847. It was early in that year, as will appear in the sequel, that I submitted the first sample of Australian cotton to the inspection of gentlemen who were well qualified to judge of its character and value both in Manchester and Glasgow: and the circumstance is of some importance now, merely in a historical point of view, as claims to a priority of action in this matter have since been advanced by different parties, whose efforts were merely the result of mine, and of a much later date. The sample I allude to had been grown on the squatting station of — Wilson, Esq., near Mount Flinders, about half-way from Ipswich to the coast range of mountains, from seed which had been procured and sown, merely as an article of curiosity, from the neglected plants on Dr. Thompson's station in that vicinity. Thomas Bazley, Esq., now M.P. for Manchester, observed at the time, when expressing his own high opinion of its character and value, that no such cotton could be grown in America so far from the sea; but I have no record of the opinion of any person then connected with the cotton trade in Manchester on the subject. I had submitted the sample, however, through a mutual friend, to Messrs. James and John Wright, cotton-brokers of the highest standing in the city of Glasgow; and the following was the report that was sent me by these gentlemen of its character and value:—

Glasgow, 15th April, 1847.

"DEAR SIR,—We have examined the small sample of cotton wool from Australia carefully, and give it as our opinion that, if quantity could be produced, it is a very valuable kind, and would, in the present state of the market, readily sell at from 11*d.* to 12*d.* per lb., say elevenpence to one shilling per pound. It is clean in colour, fine stapled, but rather weak, which by care taken in cultivation might be much improved.

"We remain, dear Sir,

"Yours most sincerely,

"JAMES & JOHN WRIGHT.

"William M'Bryde, Esq."

My voyage to England, on that occasion, had originated as follows:—From 1st January, 1841, to 30th June, 1842, there had been imported into New South Wales, which then included both Victoria and Queensland, 25,330 statute adult immigrants at the public expense; their passage out having been paid from the Land Revenue of the colony. Of these immigrants, 16,892, or two-thirds of the whole number, were from Ireland, chiefly from the south and west, and almost all Roman Catholics; while only 8438 were from England and Scotland together. At this rate, had the system then in progress been continued, New South Wales would very soon have become a second edition of Ireland—a mere province of the Popedom. To prevent any such consummation, however, I determined, on the resumption of immigration,—after a few years of depression which the colony had experienced in the interval, and during which immigration had been discontinued,—to proceed to England at the period I have mentioned above, to give an impulse to Protestant emigration to Australia from England and Scotland. It was much easier at that time to induce emigration to Port Phillip or Victoria, and my services in that direction were correspondingly more extensive and more successful, but by no means so remarkable in their results as in the case of the emigration to Queensland.

My efforts, therefore, at this period, in connection with cotton cultivation in Australia, originated in great measure, if not exclusively, in my desire to get out to our colonies a population of the right description from Great Britain and Ireland. Cotton cultivation, I conceived, was to be the means; but this was the end. But although greatly disappointed at the very cold reception I met with from the cotton lords of the period, I determined not to lose sight of the main object of my voyage to England; and I accordingly succeeded at length, in the face of much discouragement and opposition, in sending out from England to Moreton Bay—a place that had previously been unheard of in this country—about six hundred persons in three different ships. These emigrants were nearly all members of different evangelical Protestant communions in England; and they acted conformably to their profession from the period of their arrival at their destination. They found the district, which had previously been a penal settlement, the most irreligious and demoralised in

New South Wales, and they have transformed it mainly by their influence and example into the most orderly and religious. A strong effort was made by the aristocracy of the country, immediately after their arrival, as I have stated in the introduction to this work, to get the settlement transformed into a penal colony, in order to supply the squatters or flockmasters with cheap labour: this, however, they strongly resisted—and they did so successfully, as was acknowledged before a Committee of the House of Lords in 1856. They agitated incessantly also for the separation of Queensland from New South Wales, till the promised boon could be no longer withheld; and it was mainly owing to their influence and efforts that State-aid for religion was abolished in the first Parliament of Queensland. Two of their number were members of the Parliament of New South Wales before the separation of Queensland, and one of these is now an alderman of the city of Brisbane and a member of the First Parliament of the new colony. The famous six hundred of the Crimea were, doubtless, richly deserving of all the honour and glory they received from their country; but here are other "six hundred" who, perhaps, have earned equal honour in a far different field. I trust my present visit to England will lead to an emigration to Queensland of many thousands of persons of a similar character.

My second attempt, which had a somewhat similar result with the former, as far as the hope of interesting the cotton manufacturers of the mother-country in the promotion of emigration to Australia was concerned, was made during a subsequent visit to the mother-country in the year 1852. In that year I submitted to the Chamber of Commerce at Manchester a series of specimens of Australian cotton which I had just brought home with me from that country; and the following is the report of Thomas Bazley, Esq. (now M.P. for Manchester), the President of the Chamber, on its quality and value:—

"Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures,
Manchester, July 15, 1852.

"Reverend Sir,—I have submitted the samples of Australian cotton sent by you to the Chamber yesterday to the criticism of our President, Thomas Bazley, Esq., whose knowledge and judgment in such matters are not surpassed by any gentleman con-

nected with the trade. He has instructed me to make the following report thereon, according to the numbers adopted in your schedule:—

"No. 1. Grown by Dr. Hobbs of Brisbane.*—Excellent cotton, and in perfect condition for the spinner; value 22*d.* per lb.

"No. 2. Grown by Mr. Douglas of Ipswich.*—Really beautiful cotton; worth, if perfectly cleaned, 2*s.* per lb.

"No. 3. Grown by the Rev. Mr. Gibson†, Big Cream.—Very good cotton, but not well got up; worth 21*d.* per lb.

"No. 4. Grown by the same.—Very excellent, and in good condition; worth 23*d.* per lb.

"No. 5. Grown by the same.—Excellent cotton; worth 22*d.* per lb.

"No. 6. Grown by A. Lang, Esq.‡—Short staple cotton, of the New Orleans class; worth 5½*d.* per lb.

"No. 7. Grown by Mr. Scobie.‡—Good cotton; worth 20*d.* per lb.

"No. 8. Grown by J. Bucknell, Esq. §—Good and useful cotton, but of the common Sea Island class; now worth 18*d.* per lb.

"No. 9. Grown by the same.—Like the preceding; worth 17*d.* per lb.

"I am further instructed to assure you that in the preceding estimates Mr. Bazley has been careful to keep within the limits which his own appreciation of their worth would have led him to fix; and I am to express his opinion that such superior and excellent attributes of perfect cotton have been rarely seen in Manchester, and that your samples indisputably prove the capability of Australia to produce most useful and beautiful cotton, adapted to the English markets, in a range of value from 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb.

"I am, Reverend Sir, your most obedient servant,

"THOMAS BOOTHMAN, *Secretary.*

"The Rev. John Dunmore Lang, D.D.,
Brunswick Hotel, Manchester."

On my present visit to England I had brought home with me

* At Moreton Bay, Latitude 27½° S.
† Clarence River, Latitude 29½° S.
‡ Hunter's River, Latitude 32½° S.
§ Patterson's River, 32° S.

various specimens of the produce of Australia in this important branch of cultivation, and in particular one which had been grown by Mr. Alderman Cribb, of Brisbane, now one of the members of the Parliament of Queensland, and which a Liverpool cotton-broker of the highest character and standing has valued, since my arrival in England, at 18*d.* a pound. The cotton I refer to had been grown for a prize, which the government of New South Wales had offered, previous to the separation of Queensland, for the best specimen of cotton, the produce of the northern districts of that colony. Mr. Cribb's was neither the best nor the second-best specimen produced, and it did not therefore get either the first or the second prize. It may consequently be considered a fair specimen of the average produce of Queensland in this branch of cultivation.

The reader will observe that it is principally, if not exclusively, to Sea Island, or the finer description of cotton, that reference has been made in the preceding pages. The only sample, indeed, of the New Orleans, or coarser cotton, that seems to have been grown in Australia, was grown by my brother, Mr. Andrew Lang, of Dunmore, Hunter's River, now a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. It was grown from a small parcel of seed which Mr. Bazley had picked out from a quantity of New Orleans cotton in his mill, and which he gave me to take out to Australia. The produce looked remarkably well; but being of the short staple description it was valued, as will be seen in the preceding list of specimens, at only 5½*d.* per lb., while all the other specimens were valued at from 17*d.* to 2*s.* per lb. I have been told, however, on the very best authority, that, in Egypt in particular, the quantity of the coarser produce is so much greater than that of the finer as to more than compensate for the difference of price; and that the cultivation of the finer quality has consequently been in great measure given up in that country. There are no data as yet to determine the comparative productiveness and value of the two descriptions in Queensland; but I am strongly of opinion that the same result will not be experienced there as in Egypt. The produce of the Sea Island variety actually realised, as I shall show presently, at Brisbane, is, I believe, quite as great as that of the New Orleans, or coarser variety, in America; and the case of the fine-wooled sheep of

Australia, continuing to maintain their fineness of fleece far within the tropics, of which there is no example in any other country, would seem to warrant the conclusion that the Australian climate is not less favourable for the production of the finer descriptions of cotton wool than it is for that of the finest sheep's wool.

The cotton-plant is somewhat similar, both in its outline and in the character of its vegetation, to the common currant of Europe. Its cultivation is extremely simple, as it merely requires to be sown in rows, at proper distances, and to be kept clear of weeds, and especially of couch-grass, which will doubtless be its principal enemy in Queensland. In the United States the cotton-plant is an annual, and must be grown every year from the seed, the plant being regularly destroyed in that country by the severity of the winter frosts; but in the milder climate of Egypt, where it is now cultivated to a considerable extent, in India, and in Queensland—of which, as I have already observed, the range of latitude is precisely the same as that of Egypt in the opposite hemisphere—it is a perennial, and requires renewal from seed only at comparatively long intervals*, a circumstance which must not only materially lessen the cost of its cultivation, but in all likelihood considerably augment its powers of production. The cotton grows in pods, like beans or peas, although of a somewhat different form, the cotton-pod being like a pear in shape. These pods are found all over the plant, like the clusters of currants on a currant bush, generally within reach of the hand of a boy or girl standing close to the plant; each pod containing a number of the seeds of the plant, nicely wrapped up in a ball of cotton. The pods open spontaneously when ripe, and the balls of cotton are plucked out by the hand, placed in canvas bags suspended from the neck of the picker, and carried off the field to the shed or mill where the process of separating the seed from the cotton is carried on. That process used to be performed by the hand; but the American cotton-growers now universally make use of a machine for the purpose, invented by a Mr. Eli Whitney, an eminent mechanical genius of New England, nearly related to the family of the famous

* One of the samples of Australian cotton which I brought home with me for the inspection of the cotton interests of Manchester and Glasgow was the produce of plants which had been two, and another of plants which had been six, years in the ground.

Jonathan Edwards, as I was told in America by the grandson of that celebrated divine. It must be evident, therefore, that in the cultivation of this article of produce there is much light labour required, for which the services of females and young persons of either sex would be equally available with those of men; and if the principle of the division of labour were to be acted on in this instance, as well as in the manufacture of sugar from the cane, so that one mill or machine, managed by some person or persons who thoroughly understood the business, might clean the raw cotton for a whole district, the mere process of cultivation might be rendered exceedingly simple, and every small farmer within a pretty wide circle be enabled to have both a cotton-patch and a cane-patch, in addition to his regular crops of wheat, maize, and sweet potatoes.

It is doubtless of some importance, in reference to the question as to the adaptation of the soil and climate of Queensland for the production of cotton, that the cotton-plant, if not indigenous on the mainland of Australia, has been found growing wild on the islands immediately adjoining the north-eastern extremity of that continent. My esteemed friend and relative, Dr. Muirhead, R.N., who was for several years surgeon of H.M.'s surveying-ship Fly, on that station, and who is now one of the physicians of Greenwich Hospital, brought home with him to Europe a specimen of the indigenous or wild cotton from one of these islands close to the mainland; and, as in other instances the vegetation of the mainland has been found to be nearly identical with that of the islands immediately adjoining it, there is every reason to believe that cotton, as well as indigo, tobacco, and flax, will yet be found to be indigenous in Australia.

The first bale of Australian cotton, which was grown on a measured acre of land by a native of Glasgow, and of which the specimen No. 2, in the above report from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, was a sample in the rough state, was subsequently sold, after being properly cleaned, at 1*s.* 10½*d.* per lb. The cost of production in this particular case was also ascertained to be not more than 5*l.* per acre, as estimated by Mr. Douglas, the proprietor of the ground, at the current rates of the period.

The following is an extract from a report, of the same period, on the capabilities of the Clarence and Richmond River district

for cotton cultivation, by the Rev. John Gibson, then resident Presbyterian minister on these rivers, who had previously been for eleven years a missionary in Jamaica:—

"It is my opinion that about two-thirds of the area of the Clarence and Richmond districts are well adapted for cotton cultivation. Thousands of families could cultivate cotton on the Richmond plains. There are many inland scrubs with the richest soil, and without a stone, where I think the coffee plant would grow luxuriantly, if not profitably. I rode through twelve miles of this land, which is rather red and resembles our Jamaica coffee soil. I should say that immense plantations of cotton and sugar could be established from the Clarence to the furthest northern point.

"The facilities for cotton-growing would be greater on the plains than on the banks of the rivers, although the latter soil is always richer, being a vegetable deposit that has been accumulating for ages. On some of the plains there are scarcely any trees to obstruct the plough, so that, as soon as the long grass was burned off, and the land enclosed, a cotton plantation could be quickly established. The British farmer would, after preparing the ground by the plough and harrow, find the work comparatively easy. The land ought to be ploughed up at least two or three months before the seed is planted. The seed should be put in the ground in October, in straight lines, at a distance of three feet apart in each line, each row being also three feet apart. About three seeds should be planted in each hole, and then covered two or three inches with earth. An acre is supposed to yield from 300 to 350 lbs. The methods for planting and cleaning are similar to those adopted in maize cultivation, either by hoe or plough.

"With respect to the profitableness of cotton cultivation, I am not qualified from experience to give a correct judgment; but from the samples grown in this and the Richmond district, I am strongly of opinion that it would be profitable, especially to large families. I have seen cotton trees here nine feet high, and some bearing 150 pods. The soil on which this was grown was forest land, and rich. The samples I sent you some time ago, I think you will say are a fine staple, and would fetch from 10*d.* to 1*s.* per lb. I am growing about a hundred trees by way of further

experiment this year; but the problem is already solved, that cotton will grow here to any extent. The cotton I saw in Jamaica was much coarser and weaker in staple than that grown here. The trees here are slightly withered by the frost; but, since spring came, they are growing vigorously again.

"With the cotton cultivation emigrants could combine tropical as well as European fruits and vegetables. With capital, population, and industry, these districts would be the garden and pride of Australia. Let the government sell the land, as they ought, to small settlers of virtue and enterprise, and our prosperity and happiness would increase a thousand-fold! It is painful to those who love 'the human face divine,' and wish the greatest possible amount of happiness for the greatest possible number, to see these rich lands lying waste and uninhabited, while hundreds of thousands are just dragging out a mere existence, and probably the workhouse awaiting them in their old age in England, who might here plant their cotton fields, vineyards, and olive-yards, and eat the fruit thereof, and in a few years leave a comfortable freehold and plantation for their children."

The cultivation of cotton has been introduced, within the last few years, at the Cape of Good Hope, although, I believe, it has not as yet been pursued to any considerable extent in that colony. The following, however, is part of a very judicious article on the subject (contributed by the Superintendent of the Cape Botanic Gardens to a South African periodical called "The Farm and the Garden"), which I shall take the liberty to insert, as it may prove both useful and suggestive to the emigrant cotton-planter in Queensland. The climate of the two countries is somewhat similar, although the rainy season in Queensland is at a different period of the year from that of the Cape of Good Hope.

"Cotton (*Gossypium*), by far the most important product of the plants of the order *Malvaceæ*, is cultivated through a wide range of latitude — from the line up to 37° N. With respect to elevation, cotton extends to nearly 9000 feet above the level of the sea in equinoctial America; in Mexico to 5000 feet in 19° N.; and in the Himalaya to 4000 feet in 30° N. We are not in possession of the mean temperature of the districts where cotton is most successfully cultivated, but the Java cotton, grown under the line, is almost the worst brought to market, while that of

Georgia and the Carolinas, nearly at the most northern limit of its cultivation, is the best produced. India will, no doubt, some day rival the two latter places in the production of cotton, but the produce will be from the more temperate parts. The degree of moisture in the atmosphere has a very important effect upon the quality of staple produced; there is no doubt the fine quality of the cotton of Georgia and Carolina is due, in a great measure, to the moderation in temperature and evaporation in those countries. It is generally admitted that the quality of cotton improves in its vicinity to the sea; but the Pernambuco cotton is said to be injured by this proximity, and to improve in proportion as its cultivation advances into the interior. In Natal, the cotton-lands are favourably situated in respect of proximity to the sea.

"*Soil and Situation.*—The best soil is a brown sandy loam, in a situation sheltered from violent winds, or that may be artificially protected by belts of plantation or hedges. Moisture should be present in the soil, or the situation have facilities for irrigation.

"*Preparation of the Soil and Sowing the Seed.*—The soil should be well prepared by digging or ploughing to the depth of eighteen inches; and where it is not naturally of a superior description, a dressing of decayed stable manure may be applied previous to digging or ploughing. When the soil is prepared by being thoroughly pulverised and made smooth on the surface, the seed may be sown in holes two inches deep and forty-eight inches apart; the rows must be four feet apart, but the quality of the soil must determine the distance between the plants; leave the surface smooth after covering over the seed. Four, five, or more seeds may be planted in each hole. When they have thrown out the second leaf, thin out all but two, taking care to leave the strongest and most likely-looking plants. When these appear quite established, one may be removed. The plants will then stand singly eighteen inches apart in the rows, and the rows four feet apart. If the plants show a tendency to run up weak and lanky, the leading shoot of each may be pinched out to induce the growth of lateral shoots. The ground must at all times be kept perfectly free from weeds. The best time for sowing is, we think, in the month of September, after the heavy rains and extreme cold of our season are past. By the month of December the plants will have made some growth, and irrigation must then be resorted to in very dry

situations. In two months more the plants will be in flower and beginning to pod, as the flowers go off. When the pod begins to burst is the proper time to gather the crop. This important operation should be completed without delay; any exposure to the wind, sun, rain, or dew, deteriorates the cotton. In some cotton-growing countries, the plantations require re-planting every three or four years; seed from a different locality is always sown. Whether such a course will be found necessary at the Cape remains to be seen."

The following letter on cotton cultivation in Queensland was addressed to the editor of the "Moreton Bay Courier," during the past year, by Mr. Walter Hill, Superintendent of the Botanic Garden, Brisbane. It fully bears out the statement of Mr. H. J. Sloman, an enthusiastic cotton-planter in Queensland, now residing at Rockhampton, on the Fitzroy River, that a single acre of suitable ground in that colony produces upwards of a ton of cotton in the seed to the acre; the proportion of the seed to the clean cotton being from three to four, to one.*

"COTTON CULTIVATION.

"SIR,—In compliance with your request respecting the cultivation of the *Gossypium herbaceum* (or Sea Island cotton plant), I have much pleasure in making you acquainted with the results of two experiments made in our garden. In the months of September, 1857 and 1858, half an acre of ground on an open situation, of a sandy loamy soil, was selected and dug one spade deep for the cultivation of the Sea Island cotton plant. Previously to planting the seeds were steeped in water during some hours; they were afterwards rolled in sand in order entirely to separate them from each other. This process very much accelerates their germination.

* Extract of a letter to Mr. Sloman, from the Secretary of the Cotton Supply Association, of date Manchester, April 7th, 1859:—

"Your statements are very remarkable—first, that you can get one ton of cotton in the seed per acre; secondly, that 1 lb. of seed will sow one acre. I should be glad to hear from you again on these two points particularly. The Association has no doubt of the capability of the colony to grow cotton in large quantities and of first-rate quality, and they beg you will use every effort to spread the cotton question as widely as possible among your friends and neighbours, and also the public of your thriving colony.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"Mr. H. J. Sloman, "G. R. HAYWOOD, *Secretary*.
Gladstone, Port Curtis."

In the months of October the seeds were planted in rows, four feet distance from each other; two or three seeds were dropped in each hole, because some of them are liable to rot in the ground; the seeds were covered with earth one inch thick. The plants made their appearance in about eight days. At about the end of four weeks the ground was carefully weeded, and those plants which were the weakest were drawn, and only one plant left in the hole. The ground was frequently hoed and kept free from weeds. When the plants were about five months old they showed signs of flowering. The stems and branches were thinned, and about an inch was broken off from the end of each shoot to determine the sap of the capsules. The time of the plants coming to maturity was little more than six months after the seed had been planted.

"This period is, however, well indicated by the spontaneous bursting of the capsule, or seed-pod. In gathering the fibre care was taken to withdraw it from the capsule, leaving the empty husks upon the plant. This work was always performed as soon as possible after the fibre displayed itself, for long exposure to the sun injures its colour. The process of gathering lasts till the middle of July.

"The fibre and seeds of one hundred plants were kept separate in gathering each season. Each plant produced 11 ounces of seed and 4 ounces of fibre, yielding at the rate of 1871 lbs. 6 ounces of seed and 680 lbs. 8 ounces of fibre per acre.

"Samples of the fibre were forwarded to England with the view of testing its quality and value. The report received stated the fibre appeared to the eye to be of excellent quality, and its value would be from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* per lb. in London. I may state the Sea Island cotton plant is a perennial here, and improves in quantity and quality for two or three years, after which period it will be liable to degenerate. I may also mention that this plant is of easy cultivation, and quite within the scope of any ordinary man's ability who can use a spade or hoe. The most important operation is the picking the fibre as the pods ripen and open out, and that can be easily performed by the younger branches of a man's family.

"I am, Sir, yours truly,

"WALTER HILI

Mr. Hill did me the favour, during my last visit to Brisbane, in July and August, 1860, to draw up, at my request, the following very interesting notices of the results of the cultivation of various tropical and sub-tropical plants in Queensland. The reader will no doubt excuse the repetition it contains of part of Mr. Hill's letter to the Queensland paper, which I had not seen at the time he wrote me.

"Botanic Garden, Brisbane,
1st August, 1860.

"SIR,—In compliance with your request respecting the capabilities of Queensland for the production of tropical and sub-tropical plants cultivated for their commercial purposes, I have much pleasure in forwarding you the results of my experiments on the following plants during the last five years. Amongst the most important in a commercial point of view are the cotton and sugar-cane plants. The following were the results of two experiments in cotton-growing, made in 1857 and 1858 on half an acre of ground. The seeds were sown in October, in rows four feet apart, and in about six months from the time of planting the gathering of the fibre commenced, and was continued to the beginning of July. The fibre and seeds of one hundred plants were kept separate in gathering, during each season, and each plant produced 11 oz. of seed and 4 oz. of fibre, yielding at that rate 1871 lbs. 6 oz. of seed, and 680 lbs. 8 oz. of fibre, to the acre. Samples of the fibre were forwarded to England with the view of testing its quality and value; and the report received stated that the fibre appeared to the eye of excellent quality, and that its value would be 2*s.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* per lb. in London. I may also add that the plant, being perennial here, will improve both in quantity and quality for two or three years, after which it will be liable to degenerate.

"The next plant in importance is the sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarium*). With regard to this plant I cannot as yet give any results, as my first crop of it is not yet ready for cutting, having only been planted this season; but, from the appearance of the canes at present, I feel satisfied that they would compare favourably with canes of the same age either in the West Indies or anywhere else. Some experiments have been made on the *Sorghum saccharatum*, but I cannot recommend it as a sugar-producing

plant, although it is first-rate as food for cattle. We have also under cultivation both the West Indian and East Indian arrow-roots (the *Maranta arundinacea* and *Canna edulis*); and although both species do well, the East Indian species is the most productive, yielding about four tons to the acre. The ginger (*Zingiber officinale*), I believe, will become a general crop here. I tried a few roots of it this year, as you will see by the sample sent. It produces quite a hundred-fold. The coffee plant (*Coffea arabica*) also thrives well here in situations sheltered from the westerly winds. Some plants which have been established in such situations grow freely and yield abundantly; but no experiments have been made with the fruit to test its flavour.

"The orange, the lemon, the olive, the tamarind, the grape-vine, the pine-apple, the guava, the mango, the lichi and lengan, the jack fruit, the alligator pear, the custard apple, the cherimoyer, the star apple, the granandilla, grow here as well as in their native soil, and are being largely planted. The banana also grows and fruits abundantly with hardly any cultivation, and it is probable this plant will be cultivated for the sake of its fibre. The logwood, the Brazil-wood, the indigo plant, also flourish in this climate.

"With regard to climate, the weather is never so hot as to prevent Europeans from working. The men employed in the Botanic Garden have never suffered in any way from the heat, and visitors from the other colonies are unanimous in declaring it the finest climate in Australia. Trusting you will receive the samples of the arrowroots, the ginger, and the fibre of the cotton plant safe,

"I am, Sir, yours truly,

"WALTER HILL.

"The Rev. Dr. Lang, M.L.A.,
Sydney, New South Wales."

But why, it may be asked, if cotton of such superior quality can be grown to any conceivable extent in Queensland,—why has it not been grown there to a much greater extent than it appears to have been hitherto? The answer to this question is threefold:

1st. The grand pursuit of the capitalist in Queensland is the depasturing of sheep and cattle, and the growth of wool for the manufactures of England, on the boundless native pastures of

the colony. This pursuit has hitherto absorbed by far the greater portion of the available labour of the country; and until the demand thus created is supplied, it will continue to attract, through the temptation of high wages, no inconsiderable portion of the future immigrant population. But the demand for labourers to tend the flocks and herds of the colony is by no means unlimited: it requires only a very small number of persons to tend the flocks and herds depasturing over a vast extent of territory; and the reason why so many of the labourers of the colony have hitherto betaken themselves to pastoral pursuits, as the hired servants of the squatters, is that they had no alternative, for, to use the strong language of the colonists, they were literally "locked out of the land."

2ndly. Under the wretched land system which has hitherto prevailed, with very few exceptions indeed, in the Australian colonies, and which has "cribbed, cabined, and confined" within the four corners of their chief cities one-fourth of their entire population — a state of things to which, as far as my own knowledge of history and of the world extends, there is no parallel in the annals of mankind—it was scarcely possible for an industrious person of the humbler classes to get a small piece of suitable land to settle on anywhere. It was all locked up, as I have shown in the case of the cedar-cutters and sawyers of the Richmond River, in the great squatters' runs; for whose benefit the industrious classes of the country were, under the monstrous and suicidal policy that prevailed, literally sacrificed and sold. But — honour to whom honour is due! — the First Parliament of Queensland have effected an entire and salutary revolution in the land system of that colony, and thrown open the lands, on a wise and equitable system, for the occupation and settlement of the industrious cultivator. The *bonâ-fide* farmer can now obtain a sufficient extent of the very best land for cultivation on the easiest terms; the emigrant will have land given him—wherever he chooses to select it, within extensive agricultural reserves—more than equal in value to the cost of his passage, and the cotton-planter will have a *bonus*, in land, of sufficient value to cover the whole cost of its cultivation. The reader will find all these provisions established in the different clauses of the Crown Lands' Alienation Act of Queensland, which was finally passed on the 17th

September last. (See Appendix E.) The following is the clause guaranteeing the bonus on cotton-growing :—

"PREMIUM ON COTTON-GROWING.

"21. In order to encourage the growth of cotton within the said colony, it shall be lawful for the Governor, with the advice aforesaid, to issue land orders during the next three years to the extent of 10*l.*, and during the two years next following the said period of three years to the extent of 5*l.*, by way of premium for every bale of good cleaned Sea Island cotton, without any admixture of damage or discoloured, and weighing three hundred pounds, the growth and produce of the colony, which may be exported to Great Britain. And during the said periods one half the above premiums shall be given for the common descriptions of cotton."

3rdly. At the time when a considerable impulse had been given to cotton-growing in Queensland, it was found, unfortunately, that there were no available means of cleaning the cotton or of separating it from the seed. The saw-gin in use in America for the cleaning of the coarser or New Orleans cotton, was found to destroy the fibre of the more valuable or Sea Island variety; and this check having been given at the very time when people were turning their attention to cotton cultivation, and a considerable breadth of land had been planted with cotton, the attention of the colonial farmers was necessarily turned in a different direction. There has now, however, been introduced into the colony a gin which performs the work required for the cleaning of the Sea Island variety, and which, I can testify myself from having seen it in operation, performs its work remarkably well.

It is absolutely necessary, indeed, to the extension of cotton cultivation in Queensland, that there should, in the first instance, be a comparatively numerous population in the colony deriving their subsistence principally from agriculture. In most other colonies, as in British America, and in the West Indies, there must of necessity be such a population from the very outset of the colony, as the land in these countries yields nothing without cultivation. But the case is very different in the colonies of Australia; for *there* the native pasture may prove a source of wealth and fortune to the colonist even although he

should never turn up a single furrow of the soil. Nobody ever thought of cultivating the ground in the first instance either at Port Phillip or at Moreton Bay: the hired labourer was much more valuable to his employer as a shepherd or stockman, than as a ploughman, and consequently both the flour and the maize required in both settlements for years after their formation had all to be imported either from Sydney or from Van Dieman's Land. But this is a state of things that can only be temporary. The native pastures are very soon covered with stock; and as soon as the country reaches the maximum of production of which it is capable in its natural state as a wool-growing and cattle-grazing country, no conceivable addition to the population will ever render the native pastures a whit more productive. With this consummation, therefore, so fully in view, who can doubt that the sheet-anchor, the main dependence of the colony, is neither to be the growing of wool nor the grazing of cattle—the results of which will every year, after the maximum produce of the native pastures has been attained, be smaller and smaller in proportion to the entire population — but the cultivation of the soil? And the sooner a numerous agricultural population shall have taken root in the country, the sooner will it become dependent principally upon that resource, and the sooner will its incomparably greater value than that of even the native pastures be discovered and universally recognised. The pastoral state, therefore, is to be considered merely a transition state in Australia, preparing the way for the settlement of a numerous agricultural population.

I have already alluded to the bearings of the cultivation of cotton by means of European free labour in Australia on the subject of the rights and interests of humanity, as involved in the great question of the abolition of slavery in America. For it must be evident that so long as we are almost exclusively dependent on the Slave States of America for this indispensable *matériel* of British manufactures, all our efforts for the abolition of slavery in that country will be perfectly futile. Jonathan will turn to the Bible and show us slaveholders enough, both among the patriarchs of the Old Testament and the apostolic men of the New, to warrant his continuance of the vile practice *in his own estimation*, whatever argument may be brought against it,

either from reason or from revelation, *so long as he finds it profitable, and so long as he holds the monopoly of the British market.* But only show him that the manufacturers of Britain can do without him; that cotton can be grown by white labour as well as by black, by the labour of freemen as well as by that of slaves; and that myriads of the redundant population of Britain can with perfect facility be transformed into cotton-growers on British ground, and in a climate incomparably superior to his own—and I am confident that, as his monopoly, if not his occupation, would in that case be gone, the lash would erelong fall powerless from his grasp.

In the month of June of last year, Dr. Hobbs, the Surgeon-Superintendent of the second of the three emigrant ships I sent out to Moreton Bay in the years 1848 and 1849, who is now Health-Officer for the port of Brisbane, was examined before the Select Committee of the Parliament of Queensland on Immigration; and the following extract of his evidence on the subject of cotton-growing will no doubt greatly interest the intelligent reader :—

"You have had some experience, and have paid some attention to the cultivation of cotton?—I have.

"What is your opinion as to the probable result of its introduction as an article of production to this colony?—I believe if we had an intelligent lot of cultivators they might make it pay very well—in conjunction with other agricultural pursuits.

"Those parties who had families would be best adapted?—Yes.

"You think it could be grown profitably?—I do. For some years I grew it on a small scale myself with good results—of course only as a garden experiment. On good land I think an acre of cotton would produce one bale of marketable cotton. I grew it five years. I remember gathering from one tree, four years old, four pounds in seed—equal to one pound of clean cotton.

"What was the marketable value of that cotton?—I forget what the price was then, but I recollect I gave some of the seed to Mr. Eldridge, who got a silver medal for the produce of it at the Paris Exhibition, and it was considered a very fine sample.

"I believe you have had correspondence upon this subject with the Chamber of Commerce and with persons interested in it in different places?—Yes, I have written home on the subject, and

I have sent some cotton which was valued, I think, at 19*d.* per pound.

"And do you think that, with an ordinary degree of care and attention, the result would be as favourable if the experiment were made upon a larger scale?—I do. It would not do for agriculturists to rely upon a single crop. Here many farmers are ruined by relying upon their maize and potatoes. They should have other things to fall back upon, as a dairy for instance; instead of which they have depended upon these two crops and neglected others. Some, on the other hand, have done well. I know one of Dr. Lang's immigrants now possessed of ten or twelve hundred head of cattle. I know another who has a large farm, and who contemplates going home shortly to see his friends, who came out as a labourer, and who has amassed a considerable sum of money by his own thrift and industry.

"There was a very unfavourable season, I believe, some time ago?—Very; the floods were more destructive than they had been for a long time. There was a large crop of cotton at the time, but the farmers lost by it, and have never tried it since.

"What sort of people do you think are best adapted for this sort of work—from what part of the country?—I should fancy the Kentish hop-pickers. They are naturally quick with their fingers. I remember seeing a family from Kent on Mr. Poole's cotton plantation. The cotton grew there most luxuriantly; the trees were covered with cotton up to the very top. This family did well and earned very good wages. Unfortunately Mr. Poole died, and the plantation was dug up.

"(*By the Chairman.*) Are there any other causes besides the floods to prevent the successful production of cotton. Do you not think the high price of European labour would be an objection?—At present it would.

"The cotton, I believe, ripens so quickly as to require a large amount of labour to pick it; is not that the case?—Yes; but I think that some sort of juvenile immigration scheme might be adopted with advantage, such as the importation of children from the ragged schools, or orphan children.

"Is not the climate too hot in the summer when the cotton requires cleaning?—Only for a few days; not so many as to

prevent the work. Generally speaking, where cotton is grown it is near the coast, where there is usually an agreeable breeze, which tempers the atmosphere.

"Are you aware that cotton was grown to a considerable extent in the neighbourhood of Ipswich?—Yes.

"Was it within the reach of the flood?—I think it was grown before the flood.

"Do you think the culture of cotton would be brought about better by holding out inducements to companies?—I think it would.

"Would it be right to restrict those companies to any particular kind of labour? Would it interfere with the labour market if they were to employ coolies?—I think to introduce coolies would be to destroy this as a colony.

"How so?—Because the two classes have never done well together. It would destroy this as a British colony.

"Are you aware that it has been found necessary to introduce them in tropical countries?—I am aware of it; but we don't find them introduced into thoroughly British colonies. The Mauritius, for instance, was originally a French settlement. You only find two classes there. It is not a British community. There are only planters and labourers whose position is very poor.

"Are you aware that the great extension of the growth of sugar and the prosperity of the island have been caused by the introduction of coolies within the last three years?—I have no doubt it arises from that fact.

"Do you think, on a smaller scale, the importation of coolies would be injurious?—Yes, to the colony at large: it would retard very considerably its colonization by the British.

"In what way?—From the peculiar aversion with which Britons regard the degraded races.

"It does not appear that the wholesale introduction of Chinamen into Victoria has had that effect?—not that I would introduce the importation of Chinamen to this colony.—It is an evil about which the British population are crying out on all sides, and no doubt serious results will proceed from it. It is a system which is calculated to destroy the colony altogether; because, if you introduce coolies, you must treat them as other British sub-

jects, and it would never answer to give these people—unacquainted as they are with our peculiar institutions—the privilege of the franchise, for they could be bought like cattle, by the score, and the system would interfere materially with the institutions of the country.

"(*By Mr. Jordan.*) Do you know what the average yield of cotton is? You say four pounds from one tree—one pound of clean cotton. What is it likely to be per acre?—Of course, in giving an estimate of the yield, I can only give an approximate one. But I consider that a bale might be raised, averaging three hundred pounds of clean cotton, from an acre of ground.

"Clean cotton, long staple, is the kind which might be produced?—Yes."

I am happy to state that in the sentiments expressed by Dr. Hobbs in regard to the impolicy, to use the very mildest term, of introducing into Queensland an inferior or coloured race, as labourers of any description, a very large majority of the actual colonists heartily concur. There are doubtless a few influential persons in the colony who are anxious, for their own private ends, to introduce hordes of coolies or Chinamen, under the idea that their labour will be less costly than that of Europeans, and who, in order to effect their object, are perpetually harping upon the alleged inability of European labourers to stand the climate; although it is notorious, and indeed perfectly evident to themselves, that hundreds and even thousands of such labourers have been engaged, with perfect impunity, in every description of outdoor labour in all parts of the colony, for thirty years past. When the Governor, Sir George Bowen, did me the honour, during the past year, to ask my opinion on the subject of the proposed introduction of coolies or Chinese in large numbers into Queensland, for the growth of tropical and sub-tropical productions, I told His Excellency distinctly that I was decidedly opposed to any such proposal, as being unnecessary on the one hand, and destructive of the thoroughly British character as well as of the moral welfare of the colony on the other; adding that the hope of civilisation, and even of Christianity, in the south-eastern hemisphere, depended in great measure, if not entirely, on the occupation and settlement of the waste places of Australia by a thoroughly British race; and that, as it had not yet been

ascertained how far north the British labourer could be settled with perfect safety to his health on the Australian continent, it would be time enough to think of introducing a coloured and inferior race into its more northerly regions when that point had been fully ascertained.

The question as to the policy of introducing coolies or Chinamen into Queensland for the growth of cotton and other semi-tropical produce is now the great question, the question of questions, for that colony. With the Manchester cotton-spinner it is a mere question of labour and produce; with the colonists, with only a very few exceptions, it is a question deeply involving both the social and political, the moral and religious advancement of their adopted country. If man were a mere machine for growing cotton to keep the mills of Manchester at work, it might be proper enough to discuss this question on the basis of cheapness exclusively; but if he has far nobler destinies before him, if he has infinitely higher problems to work out in civilisation, in politics, in morals, and in religion, and if the great continental island of Australia has been given to Great Britain that these nobler destinies may be realised in the case of millions and millions more of her sons,—that these problems may be worked out to the honour and glory of our race and the welfare and advancement of our fallen humanity,—surely there are other and far higher considerations than those that influence the Manchester cotton-spinner to guide us to our conclusions.

Lest I should be supposed, however, to be doing injustice to the advocates for the introduction of coolies and Chinamen into Queensland, I shall state the case very briefly in the words of certain of the advocates of that measure. An intelligent visitor from Melbourne, who had been some time resident in Queensland during the past year, writes as follows to one of the Melbourne papers:—

"So far as I can judge from the small patches of cotton which I have seen growing, the climate and soil are admirably adapted for the growth of this plant. The last winter has been rather a severe one here, and we have had several nights of sharp frosts; yet even up here, 120 miles from the coast, and in an elevated region, two or three cotton plants continued in full verdure long after the frost set in. On the coast the weather is much milder,

and the banana generally remains green throughout the winter. The mildness of the winter will, I think, give this country great advantages over America, where early and heavy frosts set in when the planter is busy picking, and put a stop to his proceedings. The long droughts to which this country is subject may be a drawback to successful cultivation of any kind, but since I have been here there has been no lack of moisture, and on the coast rains are more frequent and regular than amongst the hills.

"The great want is labour, and the present rates of labour are, I think, far too high to admit of cotton-growing being carried on profitably. There is no likelihood either of wages being lower for many years; for the country is continually extending to the northwards, and men are always wanted for the new settlements at higher wages even than are paid here. Shepherds here get 45*l.* to 50*l.* per annum; bullock-drivers, 50*l.* to 55*l.*; with rations equal to a further *cut* of 25*l.* per annum. The houses and huts for the men must also be reckoned, and 75*l.* per annum is the lowest sum at which the value of a man's labour can be calculated. This is considerably over a dollar a day, and unless they import coolies or Chinese, under some such regulations as are now in force in the West Indies, for securing the labourers to the planter for a certain number of years, I do not see any reason for thinking that this country can compete successfully with America in producing cotton."

The second authority I shall quote for the introduction of coolie and Chinese labour into Queensland is Mr. Henry Dunlop, President of the Chamber of Commerce in Glasgow, who, in a published letter to a gentleman in Manchester, writes as follows:—

"Cotton grows well wherever the climate is warm enough, and there could not be a better climate for it than Queensland, but the difficulty is to find labour at a cheap rate so as to compete successfully with the slave labour of America.

"In Queensland that might be accomplished by the importation of coolies or Chinese. In the Mauritius the planters are enjoying great prosperity, and producing vast quantities of sugar by means of coolies imported from India. It was thought twenty years ago

that the island could not produce above 30,000 tons of sugar, but it now produces 160,000 tons or more, and the planters are rolling in wealth.

"Now the same thing might be done in Queensland, and the farmers there might successfully compete with America in growing cotton, if the government would introduce coolie labour in abundance. I am informed that the planters in the Mauritius pay 10*l.* for each coolie to the government for importing them.

"They are bound to work for the planters for two or three years. Their wages are about 10*s.* a month, and they are fed on rice and salt fish. I wish you could induce some one in Queensland to establish a cotton farm with coolie labourers; if once begun it might lead to great results. The governor of the colony might apply to the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester for machinery to clean the cotton, and they would send the best sort, and seed if required.

"Will you communicate with parties on the spot, and let me know whether they think the cultivation of cotton could be profitably carried out? The bulk of the cotton used in this country is selling at from 6*d.* to 8*d.* per lb., and I believe good land in America produces about 400 lbs. or one bale per acre of such cotton, cleaned: the weight will be 1200 lbs. uncleaned."

The third and last of the authorities I shall quote on this subject is, I am sorry to say, that of His Excellency Sir George Bowen, the Governor of Queensland. The following is an extract of a letter from His Excellency to Thomas Bazley, Esq., M.P. of Manchester:—

"I presume that the government of British India would sanction coolie migration to Queensland, on conditions similar to those carried out with so much success at Mauritius. Why should not English capital, and free Indian labour, do for cotton cultivation in North Australia what English capital and free Indian labour have done for the sugar cultivation in the similar climate of Mauritius? Englishmen are for the most part incapable of mere field work under a semi-tropical sun. But English workmen will, generally speaking, find their position improved by the introduction of Asiatic and African labour; in short, the employment of Chinese or coolies would be to Queensland what machinery has been to England. It would elevate

the labourer to the rank of a mechanic, and the mechanic to that of an overseer."

No wonder that under all this prompting the Manchester cotton interest should have come to the conclusion that the cultivation of cotton by means of British free labour in Queensland is hopeless and impracticable; and that, if cotton is to be grown in that country at all, there must be a large importation of coolies or Chinamen at the public expense. One of these Manchester cotton lords actually talked to me, in perfect seriousness, since my arrival in England, of a proposal, of which he signified his own entire approval, to introduce a quarter of a million of Chinamen into Queensland to grow cotton for the mills of Manchester!

But these gentlemen are evidently reckoning without their host. They forget that responsible government has been established in Queensland, as well as in the other Australian colonies. They forget that manhood suffrage is there the law of the land, and that even governors are powerless against the will of the people. They forget that these people have the key of their own front door in their pocket, and can lock out the whole quarter of a million of Chinamen if they please, even although both Manchester and Downing Street should agree to admit them.*

During one of the two visits I happened to make to Queensland in the year 1860, I was requested to deliver a lecture or address in the Mechanics' Institution of the city of Brisbane on the peculiar mission of Queensland as a British colony. I did so accordingly to an overflowing audience, on the 24th of July last, and in that part of my address which referred to the question of coolie and Chinese immigration, I gave expression to the following sentiments, which, it will be observed, were well received by the colonial public:—

"MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—

"The late President Jackson, of the United States of America, observed, in one of his annual messages to the Congress, or High Court of Parliament of that country, about thirty years ago, that the strength of a country was its population, and that the best part of that population were the cultivators of the soil. (Cheers.)

* By an act of the Provincial Parliament, to limit or restrict Chinese immigration, such as the one now under consideration by the Parliament of New South Wales.

I shall not attempt to argue the point with General Jackson as to whether the pastoral, the agricultural, the commercial, or the artisan portion of the general population of any country is the most valuable or the best—for society generally is pretty much like the human body in this respect, that no one class or member can fulfil the ends of its existence comfortably and prosperously without the co-operation of all the others—but I am quite sure it will be universally admitted that the prime necessity for this country under existing circumstances is the speedy and continuous influx of a numerous, industrious, and virtuous population, to develope the vast resources of the country, and to fulfil the great ends which Divine Providence had evidently in view in its elevation to the rank of a British colony. (Cheers.)

"The important question, therefore, for this community is, Where is such a population as this colony requires for the development of its resources, and for the carrying out of the high purposes of Divine Providence in its establishment—where is such a population to come from, and how is it to be obtained? In answer to this question, I would observe that there are three different sources to which we can look for the supply of a numerous population for this colony. There is the United Kingdom, Great Britain and Ireland, in the first place; there is India, with its coolies, in the second; and there is China, with its teeming millions, in the third. Now, as a mere question of population, and without taking into account the manner in which that population is to be employed, or the other and higher purposes which it is calculated to serve in what Lord Bacon designates 'the heroic work' of colonisation, it cannot be doubted that if a sufficient number of our own people, of the industrious classes of Great Britain and Ireland, could be procured for any purpose whatsoever in this colony, it would be incomparably better for the country to encourage and to promote their immigration to any conceivable extent, than to import either coolies or Chinamen. (Cheers.) The unspeakable evils that have been experienced in the United States of America from the introduction, at an early period in the history of British colonisation in that country, of an inferior and degraded race, in the form of negro slaves from Africa, would assuredly be repeated in this country, although in a somewhat different form, and would entail incalculable evils on

posterity, in the event of a large importation of coolies from India. (Cheers.) And as to the introduction of a Chinese population to supply the want of labour for any purpose whatever in this colony, there are, I conceive, insurmountable objections to any such form of immigration. (Cheers.)

"In the first place, Chinese immigrants consist exclusively of males. There is, it seems, an extreme and insurmountable repugnance on the part of Chinese females, of whatever rank in society, to emigrate from "the flowery land;" and public opinion in China is as strongly opposed to Chinese female emigration as the Chinese females themselves. I make this statement, which some may perhaps be disposed to question, on the authority of Sir John Bowring, late Governor of Hong Kong, who gives us at the same time a striking proof of the truth of that statement in his account of a visit to the Philippine Islands, which he made partly for his health before his return to England. The work was published in London so lately as during the past year. For in the city of Manilla, the capital of the islands, there was a Chinese population of upwards of 5000 souls, of whom only seven or eight were females, and five of these were children who had been kidnapped on the coast of China. In one word, it is altogether out of the question to expect an immigration of Chinese females, whether married or single, into any of these colonies. Now, as it has hitherto been the practice of the local governments of this country, I mean before separation, to insist that, in the case of all immigration from Great Britain and Ireland at the public expense, there shall be an equal number of both sexes, I should like to know why the public of this colony should not insist upon having the same principle carried out and acted on in regard to the Chinese as well as in regard to ourselves. Are they better than we, that they should claim exemption from this most equitable and admirable arrangement? If they come at all, let them bring their wives with them; but if they don't let them stay at home by all means. (Loud cheers.)

"I confess I am not sorry at this insurmountable repugnance to emigration on the part of the Chinese ladies. The fact is, we don't want them. We don't want the flat faces, the pug noses, the yellow complexions, the small feet, and the long tails multiplied a thousand-fold amongst us, as they would very soon be if the

Chinese ladies came to us as well as the gentlemen. (Laughter.) Considering that there are upwards of 400,000,000 of people in China, as Sir John Bowring assures us there are, it would require only a few years of unlimited Chinese immigration, provided the ladies accompanied their lords and masters, to swamp the whole European population of these colonies — to transform them into a mere second edition of the Celestial Empire, and to obliterate every trace of British progress and civilisation. (Strong sensation.) If this hall of the School of Arts, therefore, were a banqueting hall, and if I were in the habit of giving toasts, which I certainly am not, I would give, with all my heart and with all the honours, 'The Chinese ladies, and long may they stay at home by their own firesides.' (Great laughter and cheers.)

"I am well aware that all this may be considered in certain quarters very uncharitable—very unchristian—very unlike what should characterise the language and sentiments of a minister of religion. I shall come to that part of the case presently, and shall therefore pass on to another of its aspects. Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, a small territory on the coast of Borneo, abounding with Chinese immigrants, who had come to that island to work the gold mines with which it abounds, and many of whom had married wives from amongst the Dyaks or natives of the country,—Sir James Brooke informs us, that whatever other qualities the Chinaman may possess, he is never destitute of that peculiar quality which a fellow-countryman of mine, an honest weaver in the west of Scotland, used to make the subject of his daily petitions at the family altar, 'a guid conceit o' oursels'—a good opinion of ourselves. The Chinaman looks upon himself and his nation as the highest and noblest specimens of humanity, and he designates us and all the world besides as 'outside barbarians.' So long as they are only few in number, and dispersed among a European or other population, they will generally prove a quiet, industrious, and law-abiding people; but no sooner do they find themselves numerous and strong enough to seize the country and its government than they stick at nothing to insure their predominance—insurrection, rapine, murder in its most frightful forms. This was not only the opinion but the experience of Sir James Brooke; for although, I believe, the Chinese of Sarawak enjoyed the mildest and most equitable

government under the English Rajah, they no sooner imagined that they were able to take the place than they rose in insurrection against their ruler, and attempted, with some success in the outset, to put every European in the country to death. All this happened, I may add, within the last few years.

"Something of the same kind occurred three times successively in the Philippine Islands within the course of half a century, more than 200 years ago; for the Chinese were precisely of the same character then as they are now. At that time there had been an unlimited immigration of Chinese into the Philippine Islands, which are only a few days' sail from China, from the period of their first settlement by the Spaniards about a century before. On one of the three occasions to which I have alluded, a Chinaman of great ability and of great influence among his countrymen—Ching Eng, I think, was his mellifluous name—had risen to a station of great eminence under the Spaniards, and was intrusted by them with great power and authority against the insurgents. But, like a true Chinaman, he betrayed his trust, and entered into a foul conspiracy to deliver up the colony, as far as he was concerned, into the hands of the enemy; and had not the plot been discovered in time by a native woman with whom one of the Chinamen cohabited, the conspiracy would in all likelihood have proved successful, and the Spaniards on the islands would have been cut off to a man. On the discovery of this plot Ching Eng was seized and hanged, and the Spaniards, roused to fury by their sense of danger and their fears, retaliated with such merciless brutality that not fewer than 30,000 Chinese are said to have perished in the exterminating warfare that ensued. (Strong sensation.)

"I trust, therefore, I have said enough to convince you that it is not expedient, that it is neither the interest nor the duty of this community, to encourage or to promote the immigration either of coolies or of Chinamen into this noble colony of Queensland. To use the language of one of our Scottish songs, 'There's nae folk like our ain folk;' I mean, of course, the people of Great Britain and Ireland. (Strong expressions of concurrence.)

"Having thus cleared the way for the more immediate consideration of the proper subject of this lecture, I have no hesitation in expressing it as my belief and conviction that all that is

implied in the peculiar mission of Queensland as a British colony may be summed up in this great desideratum: to plant a British population on these shores—to occupy the waste places of this great south land as speedily and as extensively as possible, with a numerous, industrious, and virtuous population from the British Isles. (Loud cheers.) But let it be remembered that this is only a means to an end, and that Divine Providence has doubtless had far higher and far nobler objects in view, in the establishment of this colony, than the mere settlement of a population of British origin in this territory. In fact, such a population has a peculiar mission of its own wherever it is settled —to reproduce and to plant in their adopted country all that is truly valuable and praiseworthy in the institutions, civil and political, moral and religious, of their glorious fatherland, that in all these respects 'the wilderness may rejoice, and the solitary places be glad, and blossom as the rose.' (Cheers.) It is a mean, low, and utterly unworthy idea of our position and duties as Australian colonists, to suppose that we are here only to produce wool and tallow, and to grow cotton and sugar, to add house to house, field to field, and to call our lands by our names: we are here to advance the best interests of our common humanity— we are here to promote the grand and glorious objects of our common Christianity — and be assured, there is no place that I know of on the habitable globe, in which these interests and objects can be more easily and more effectually promoted than in Queensland. (Cheers.) Sir George Cornewall Lewis, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and still one of the present British Ministry, observes in one of his works that the advancement of civilisation and the progress of Christianity are to be promoted much more extensively and much more successfully by the extension of European colonisation than by establishing and promoting missions to uncivilised and heathen tribes; and without wishing in the slightest degree to depreciate or undervalue Christian missions, I confess I assent most cordially to the truth of this very important observation. The fact is, we are ourselves, or at least we ought to be, a great mission from Great Britain and Ireland to these uttermost parts of the earth. And how, I ask again, how are any conceivable number, either of coolies or of male adults from China, to be imported into this territory, to

help us or to co-operate with us in this 'heroic work'? (Strong expressions of assent.) They will rather prove a hindrance and an obstruction. For my own part I have no hesitation in expressing my belief and conviction that, provided the world stand so long under its present dispensation of grace and mercy—(hear)—our Anglo-Saxon race on this continental island is destined eventually to exercise dominion over the whole Indian Archipelago as well as over the multitude of the Isles of the Western Pacific—(cheers)—and, believe me, the more surely and successfully will this consummation be realised the more unmixed we continue in this highly favoured and pleasant land with either the sable or the saffron varieties of mankind. I would willingly indeed invite our German cousins to come over and help us in working out the great ends of our mission. (Cheers.) No people from the Continent of Europe amalgamate so speedily and so cordially with us as the Germans, and I should therefore be happy to hear of many more of them coming to settle in Queensland. (Expressions of assent.)

"But how is such a population to be employed, it may be asked? I answer, that independently of all the other modes of employing labour in this colony, the cultivation of sugar and cotton affords the prospect of an unlimited field for the profitable employment of European labour in this territory. And I conceive that in the successful application of British labour to these branches of tropical and semi-tropical cultivation, consists one of the most interesting features of the peculiar mission of Queensland as a British colony. For if these objects can be accomplished, if this consummation can be realised, as I believe it can, not only will profitable employment be secured for a European population in this country of any conceivable amount, but a blow will be struck at the institution of negro slavery in America that will not only reverberate from shore to shore and from pole to pole, but will assuredly accelerate the fall of that vile and hateful institution, and insure its speedy extinction. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) I confess it was the prospect of realising this consummation so devoutly to be wished, that served in no small degree to stimulate and uphold my humble efforts for the colonisation of this territory, both in England and in Australia, these fifteen years past. (Cheers.)"

That the opinions I have thus expressed on this most important subject are those of a large portion of the community of Queensland will appear pretty evident from the following extract of a letter addressed to the editor of the "Moreton Bay Courier," of date 14th March, 1860. It is signed "A Queenslander," and is entitled *Sugar and Cotton by Free Labour or Slaves;* and it has this very appropriate motto, which I would particularly recommend to the consideration of the coolie and Chinese-loving men of Manchester:—

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth increases, but where men decay."

"I hold that parties introducing or attempting to introduce such uncivilised and degraded persons as coolies are into a new community like Queensland, are as culpable morally as men introducing any contagious disorder. We had a narrow escape from being made a convict colony by the squatters when their cry was 'Give us convicts, or we die,' and now, finding that we have 'separation without exiles,' they are for coolies. These men are bound to get rich, to make fortunes for themselves to the detriment of their country; then they are off when they have sucked the honey, and they would leave us the sting in the shape of two distinct races, causing social griefs and heartburnings, and taking years of internal dissensions and confusion to abrogate.

"Now, Sir, I repeat my former assertion that Europeans can do outdoor work in any part of Queensland where they have yet been; also, that one sturdy labourer from Britain would do as much as three coolies at such work as he has been accustomed to in the same period of time; and we can have thousands and tens of thousands of our countrymen for the sending for, who are not far removed from starvation in the mother-country. Is there not a total want of natural affection—is there not something inhuman in the proposal to expend any of our resources in the introduction of coolies, thugs, or cannibals? Let us share our abundance with those who are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, rather than those who are in reality 'aliens in blood, in language, and in religion.'

"We object to coolies because, being an ignorant and inferior race of people, they would themselves be sufferers from the tyrannical propensities of their employers, and would, by being

themselves reduced to slavery, degrade the community in which they live. They have neither the energy nor the spirit to oppose attempts made on their rights and privileges.

"We object to them because their presence, as a distinct race, would retard our national progress, and tend to overthrow our civil and religious liberty; and when they were old and used up, or disabled, they would come upon the institutions of the country; while, if they had been really slaves, those who got the benefit of their strength would have to support them when infirm. Their presence would hinder European emigration, for who would come to a country where they would have to compete in the labour market with persons whose qualifications are that they eat little and are sunk in ignorance?

"If the chief end of man were to gather wealth and to enjoy it for ever after, there might be some wisdom in the desperate efforts of the squatters; but as wealth soon flies, or the owner soon drops off, we prefer virtue, and believe that a good name is more to be chosen than great riches.

"Britain's sons will be worthy of their ancestors, and leave to their children an untarnished name."

But I deny that coolie and Chinese labour—viewing the matter on the lowest possible ground—will either be cheaper or more productive to the State than the labour of Europeans, and especially of our own fellow-countrymen. Let it be remembered that the *bonus* on emigration, so very wisely held forth by the Parliament of Queensland, will more than pay the passage of the British labourer, while that of the coolie has to be paid for him by his master both from and to India; for on no other condition will his emigration be permitted. And will any person venture to affirm that the labour of a Briton, landed free of cost on the territory of Queensland, will not be incomparably more valuable to himself or his employer, and eventually to the State, than that of the miserable coolie, imported on such conditions as I have mentioned, will be to any party whatever? Of course the European labourer will not grow cotton exclusively; and he will not grow it at all if he can employ his labour more advantageously in any other way. But even independently of the bounty on cotton-growing, I firmly believe that that branch of cultivation will pay the small farmer as well as anything else;

while the bounty will, at the rates of produce I have indicated above, more than pay the whole cost of its production. Mr. H. J. Sloman, a respectable colonist of long standing in Queensland, and an enthusiastic cotton-planter, considers the cultivation of six acres under cotton as the work of one man in that colony.

Let the intending emigrant, therefore, make the requisite calculation for himself, from the data furnished him from unexceptionable sources in this chapter, as to what would be the probable result, either of his own labour, in cotton cultivation in Queensland, with his wife and children to assist him in the picking season, or of hired labour employed by him in that branch of industry on his own land, and I am quite sure he will consider the prospect perfectly satisfactory. Mr. Sloman has compiled a "Guide to the Australian Cotton-planter," embodying the results of his own experience and observation in Queensland for a series of years, which I shall insert for the information and guidance of the intending emigrant in Appendix F.

The Australian cotton-planter will have a great advantage in the matter of transport over the Indian cultivator on the one hand and the Brazilian on the other. The present cost of transport from the cotton-growing countries of India to the harbours or shipping ports on the coast is so great as to be almost tantamount to a prohibition; and the Manchester gentlemen, overlooking entirely the claims of Australia, and the only sure mode of promoting cotton cultivation there, have just been presenting their grievance to the Secretary of State for India, urging upon the government a large expenditure in the construction of roads and railways, and in the deepening of rivers and canals, to enable the Indian ryot to bring down his produce to the coast at a reasonable rate of cost.

In the province of Pernambuco, in the Brazils, the cultivation of cotton is confined to the highlands, in order to have a cooler climate than in 8° S. on the coast—the nearest cotton plantations being from twenty to thirty leagues distant from the city, while some are as far off as 150 leagues, or 450 miles. Now, the whole of the cotton that is grown in that country is transported for these great distances on horseback, each horse carrying two bags or bales, weighing four and a half arrobas

each, or 292½ pounds altogether, the arroba being equal to thirty-two pounds and a half. The consequence is, that the price of the article in the port of shipment scarcely pays for the cost of transport, or, at all events, leaves but the merest trifle for the cultivator. Now, in Queensland, wool, which at present forms the great staple of the country, has often to be conveyed for as great a distance to the port of shipment as cotton from the most distant plantations in Pernambuco; but mark the difference in the mode of transport—instead of placing a single bale of wool, which weighs about as much as the Brazilian horse-load, viz. from 250 to 300 pounds, on the back of a horse, and driving a whole troop of these animals into Brisbane from the distant interior, twelve or fourteen of these large bales are placed on a single bullock-dray, of which three or four generally travel in company. In Queensland, however, there must be at least a thousand miles of land in longitudinal extent and of various breadth, of the first quality, for the cultivation of cotton and sugar, *having river frontage directly accessible to steam navigation;* where the [redacted] could be placed on board a steam-vessel, in many instances close to the spot where it grew, and carried alongside a sailing vessel loading for London, in the principal port of the territory, within forty-eight hours. It is needless to inform the intelligent reader what a prodigious advantage such a state of things would afford to the European free-labour cultivator in Australia, as compared with the slaveholder in the Brazils.

With regard to the practicability of employing free labour extensively in the cultivation of cotton, the success of the German settlers in Texas, of whom there were in 1857 upwards of thirty-five thousand altogether, can leave no room for doubt on the subject. Mr. Olmsted, an intelligent American traveller in that country, gives the following account of his visit to one of the German settlements, the town of New Braunfels, in Texas:—

"In the town, each house has its garden-plot, and over the neighbourhood are scattered hundreds of small farms. Owing to the low price of corn, most of these had been cultivated partly in cotton during the year before our visit. The result was a total crop of eight hundred bales, which, at Galveston, brought from one to two cents a pound more than that produced by slaves, owing to the more careful handling of white and per-

sonally interested labour; but the expense of hauling cotton to the coast prevents any large profits at this distance. A railroad or a local manufactory must precede any extensive cultivation of cotton, while corn, which requires much less labour, can find a market at a fair price.

"In spite of the common assertion, that only blacks can endure the heat of southern labour, the production of cotton by whites alone is by no means rare. There are very many both of those who work their own small cotton farms, and of those who work with their few negroes day after day in the field. Corn cultivation, for year after year, is the common work of the less vagabond of the poor whites. But there is hardly in the south another as striking an instance of pure free labour upon cotton-fields as this of the Germans. Their cotton goes in one body to market, entirely separate from the great mass exported, and, from their peculiar style of settlement, it may be even considered as the product of one large plantation, worked by white hands, and divided into well-marked annual tasks.

"These eight hundred bales, therefore, though but a drop in the bucket to the whole crop, are a very substantial evidence of the possibilities of not only white, but of well-regulated free labour in the south." *

The difficulty experienced by the German cotton-grower in Texas, as well as by the Hindoo generally in India, and the Brazilian at Pernambuco, from the distance of the cotton plantations of these countries from the coast, and the consequent expense of transport, will not be felt by the cotton-planter in Queensland, as all the cotton-fields there will, in the first instance at least, be either on navigable rivers or near the coast.

There is one argument employed by the advocates for coolie and Chinese labour in Queensland, which demands a passing notice. What! say these gentlemen, will you not allow coolies and Chinamen to be imported into a Christian country, where they will have a fair example set them, and perhaps be converted to Christianity? In answer to this Manchester argument, I would reply that the Divine precept is, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.* There is no such precept in

* A Journey through Texas; or, a Saddle Trip on the South-Western Frontier. By Frederic Law Olmsted.

Holy Scripture as, "Import a quarter of a million of Chinese pagans into Queensland, to grow cotton for Manchester; and be assured they will become very good Christians in the process." *God's thoughts are not as our thoughts* in these matters; *neither are His ways our ways.* If converts to Christianity were to be made by machinery, the Manchester idea would be the right one; but we know it is not so, and that is surely enough.

There is one other point in favour of cotton cultivation in Queensland, to which I have not yet adverted. Cotton-seed yields a valuable oil under the press, and the refuse, which is called oil-cake, makes excellent food for stall-fed cattle.

The following article on this subject, copied from the "Nottinghamshire Guardian" of the 25th October, 1855, will no doubt be of service to the intending cotton-planter in Queensland; for although there is as yet but very little stall-feeding of cattle in Australia, and particularly in Queensland, it will come into requisition as the towns enlarge. At all events both the oil and the oil-cake might become valuable articles of export to the mother country.

"SIR THOMAS PARKYNS ON OILCAKE FROM COTTON SEED.

"Thinking that it may possibly be of some use to the agricultural public, I beg to enclose to you the analysis of a piece of oilcake made from cotton-seed, which has (in a small quantity only) been manufactured and imported into this country by a gentleman of the name of Barber, residing at Poulton Hall, in Cheshire. I received the piece of cake with the information that he had imported only sufficient to try its feeding effects on about twenty head of cattle, which by its means were rapidly and economically brought to a fit state for the butcher. I thought that I could do no better than immediately to forward it to Professor Way for analysis, at the same time requesting his opinion as to its value in comparison with oilcake. You will perceive that the result is highly in favour of the new cake; and I hope that it may be the means of reducing in the market the now, to the farmer, unprofitable price of linseed-cake, which it would be very likely to do, as many thousands of tons might be produced in the United States of America alone, and I was given to understand that Mr. Barber believes that it can be supplied to the

farmer (at least) from two to three pounds less cost than linseed-cake.

"The paper alluded to by Professor Way is to be found in the journal of the Royal Agricultural Society, vol. x. part 2.

"T. G. A. PARKYNS.

"*Ruddington Manor, near Nottingham.*"

"The following is Professor Way's letter and analysis:—

"'15, *Welbeck Street, Oct. 12th*, 1855.

"'SIR THOMAS,—I have made a careful analysis of the sample of cake which reached me on the 3rd instant. In order that you may have the means of comparing it with other kinds of cake, I have enclosed a paper published by myself some few years ago, of which I beg your acceptance. With a full proportion of albuminous constituents, the sample of the cake now analysed contains nearly twice as much oil as foreign or English linseed or rape cake, and I think it should therefore be superior to them in feeding and fattening properties. Experience, however, alone can decide this point. The proportion of water (moisture) is also small, which is in favour of the cake's keeping without injury. Unless, therefore, it should be distasteful to animals, I should form a high opinion of its value.

"'I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"'J. THOS. WAY.

"'Sir Thomas Parkyns, Bart.'

"'*Sample of oilcake received from Sir Thomas Parkyns, Oct.* 3, 1855.

Moisture	6·58
Oil and fatty matters	19·40
Albuminous matter (containing 4·46 nitrogen)	28·31
Woody fibre	10·64
Starch, gum, sugar, &c.	26·98
Mineral matter or "ash"	8·09
	100·00

"'The mineral matter consists of—

Lime	0·34
Magnesia	0·84
Phosphoric acid	2·62
Silica	2.27
Potash and soda	2·02

"'*Oct. 12th*, 1855.'" "'(Signed) J. THOMAS WAY."

To encourage the intending emigrant who may be disposed to enter upon the cultivation of cotton in Queensland, with many misgivings, perhaps, as to the probability of his success, I subjoin a few statistics, illustrative of the origin and progress of the cotton trade in America, from pamphlets by Mr. Seaborn, President of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina in 1843 :—

"In 1770, there were imported of cotton wool into Liverpool as follows:—three bales from New York, four bales from Virginia and Maryland, and three barrels full of cotton from North Carolina.

"The first Provincial Congress in Carolina, held in January, 1775, recommended the inhabitants to plant cotton, but the recommendation was almost entirely disregarded.

"In 1784, an American ship, which imported eight bales of cotton into Liverpool, was seized by the custom-house, on the ground that so much cotton could not be the produce of the United States.

"The first bag of cotton wool exported from Charleston to Liverpool arrived 20th January, 1785.

"At the convention at Annapolis, in 1786, Mr. Madison remarked that, from the *garden practice* in Talbot, there was no reason to doubt that the United States would one day become a great cotton-producing country.

"The influence of a manufacturing society, established in Philadelphia in 1787, induced Congress to impose a duty on foreign cottons, *with which the United States were at that time supplied from the West Indies and the Brazils.*

"The quantities of cotton wool exported to Europe from the United States were, in

1785	14 bags.	1788	359 bags.
1786	6 „	1789	842 „
1787	109 „	1790	81 „

"In 1792, the growth of cotton in the United States was unknown to Mr. Jay; or that, as a commercial article, it was deemed of little value, is obvious from the fact that in the treaty negotiated by him it was stipulated 'that no cotton should be imported from America.'

"'Sea Island' or 'black-seed' cotton began to be raised in Georgia, in experimental quantities, in 1786. The native place

of the plant is believed to be Persia; the seed introduced into America came from the Bahama Islands, where it had been introduced by the Board of Trade from Anguilla.

"The first successful crop of 'long cotton' appears to have been grown by Mr. Elliott on Hilton Head, near Beaufort, in 1790, with five bushels and a half of seed.

"In 1792, many planters on the Sea Islands and contiguous mainland *experimented with long cotton.* The cotton culture from this time progressed rapidly. In all the parishes the practical friends to its extension greatly multiplied. This plant and indigo struggled against each other for the ascendancy.

"In 1798, the opinion prevailed that the supply of cotton would soon exceed the demand. A highly respectable planter of St. John's, Colleton, in looking at his first crop, the produce of a few acres, after it had been housed, exclaimed, 'Well, well, I am done with the cultivation of cotton! Here is enough to make *stockings* for all the people in America!'

"Wm. Brisbane, of Whitepoint plantation, was so successful in 1796, 1797, and 1798, that from moderate circumstances he was enabled to retire; he sold his land to Wm. Seabrook, of Edesto Island, at a price held by many to be ruinous to the latter. Mr. Seabrook, *with the proceeds of two crops of the plantation, paid the purchase-money in two years.*

	1805.	1843.	Increase.	Decrease.
Exports of Sea Island cotton from U. S.	lbs. 8,787,659	lbs. 7,515,079	. . . .	lbs. 1,272,580
Total exports, including all sorts .	40,383,491	1,056,396,141	1,016,012,650	. . .

Since 1843, when these notices were drawn up, the increase in the production of cotton—chiefly of the coarser description—in the southern or slave states of America, has been absolutely enormous; the cost of the quantity purchased by Great Britain during the last year or two being about twenty-eight millions sterling per annum, that is, nearly a pound a head for every man, woman, and child in the United Kingdom. And all this wealth, too, goes to the maintenance and support of slavery!*

* "The distinction between direct and indirect participation in the gain arising from slavery and the slave trade does appear to me too minute to be

The prospects for Queensland, as a cotton-growing country, are, therefore, in the highest degree encouraging. The *garden practice* there has fully demonstrated the suitableness of the soil and climate for its production, and the supply of the "black-seed" or "long cotton," which is very limited in the United States, will be unlimited from that colony. All that is wanted there is an industrious European population.

To conclude this long and perhaps tedious chapter—there is a splendid field, and every encouragement that could be desired, for the growth of cotton by British free labour in Queensland; and I confess I look forward with intense interest to the time when the waste lands of that noble colony shall be occupied by a numerous, industrious, and virtuous emigrant population from the United Kingdom, and when the extensive cultivation of both cotton and sugar in Australia by intelligent and energetic colonists from the British Isles, shall virtually compel the slaveholder to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

substantial and honest. We speak of the blood-cemented fabric of the prosperity of New Orleans or the Havanna: let us look at home. What raised Liverpool and Manchester from provincial towns to gigantic cities? What maintains now their ever active industry and their rapid accumulation of wealth? The exchange of their produce with that raised by the American slaves; and their present opulence is as really owing to the toil and suffering of the negro, as if his hands had excavated their docks and fabricated their steam-engines. Every trader who carries on commerce with those countries, from the great house which lends its name and funds to support the credit of the American Bank down to, the Birmingham merchant who makes a shipment of shackles to Cuba or the coast of Africa, is, in his own way, an upholder of slavery; and I do not see how any consumer who drinks coffee or wears cotton can escape from the same sweeping charge."—*Merivale's Lectures*, i. 295.

I agree entirely with Mr. Merivale in this estimate of our national guilt in the matter of American slavery. Manchester may be the great sinner in the case; but we are all verily "guilty concerning our brother," the poor negro slave. Five millions of British money, to be secured on the waste lands of Queensland, and to be progressively expended, during the next ten years, in carrying out reputable families and individuals of the industrious classes of our own people to grow cotton in Queensland, would be sufficient to land a thoroughly British population of 300,000 souls in that colony, and would thereby give such a blow to the whole system of American slavery as it has never yet received; while it would enable us to wash our hands as a nation from innocent blood. And as the influx of population would of itself give a greatly increased value to the land, both principal and interest would be perfectly safe. O that we had wise men to rule over us!

CHAP. IX.

NATURE AND SALUBRITY OF THE CLIMATE OF QUEENSLAND.

As there has hitherto been no British colony situated in so low a latitude as that of Queensland, with the exception of the West Indies, and the other intertropical colonies in which every description of field-labour has uniformly been performed by people of colour; and as there is much apprehension and misapprehension prevalent in regard to the climate of that colony and its suitableness or unsuitableness to the constitution of the European labourer, it was absolutely necessary, before undertaking the serious responsibility of recommending an extensive emigration of our own countrymen to that country, to be employed in the various labours of the field to which the soil and climate peculiarly invite the colonial farmer, to have this point fully and satisfactorily ascertained.

Before submitting, however, to the reader the results of long experience and observation in regard to the climate of Queensland and its general suitableness to the constitution of the European labourer, I would beg to offer the few following preliminary observations on the temperature and climates of the southern hemisphere generally—a subject which, if I am not greatly in error, is but little understood in the mother country.

It is admitted, therefore, by scientific men, that the temperature of the southern hemisphere, as a whole, is much lower than that of the northern. I had personal experience of this fact myself, in the higher latitudes of the southern hemisphere, on two different occasions many years ago. On my first voyage to England from New South Wales, in the year 1824, our vessel having supplies on board for a party of seal-hunters stationed at

the Auckland Islands, in latitude 50° south, that is due south of New Zealand, we touched at these islands on our way across the Southern Pacific to Cape Horn, to land the supplies and to take on board for England the seal-skins which the party had been collecting. On landing, I found the vegetation, although in a latitude corresponding to that of the southernmost point of England, of very much the same character as that of the northern frigid zone; the land being overgrown with moss, while the trees with which the island was covered were all of a stunted, dwarfish appearance, throwing out numberless branches in a horizontal direction, about two or three feet from the ground, under which the seals from the surrounding ocean had made innumerable tracks through the forest exactly like the sheep-tracks along a hill-side in Scotland.* And on being driven by northerly winds a long way to the eastward, in the South Atlantic Ocean, after doubling Cape Horn, on a subsequent voyage to Europe, in the year 1830, we found the solitary island of South Georgia, situated in latitude 54° south—that is, in the latitude of Yorkshire in the northern hemisphere—surrounded with innumerable large fragments of floating ice, which had evidently been detached from the huge masses of that material which seemed, as they reflected from a distance the beams of the morning sun, to flank the whole line of the inhospitable shore, the lofty mountains of the interior of the island being covered with eternal snow.

Dr. Forster, one of the companions of Captain Cook on his last voyage round the world, speaks of this island, South Georgia, in the following terms:—"When we came towards the 54° of south latitude, we found a small island of about eighty leagues in circumference, the thermometer continuing at about 30°, 32°, and 34° in its neighbourhood, in the midst of summer. Though isles have in general a milder climate than continents, we found, however, all this country entirely covered with immense loads of snow; the bottoms of its bays were choked up with solid masses of ice, of sixty or eighty feet above water."

* The seal-hunters at the Auckland Islands had erected a hut for their domicile which they had thatched with a sort of reed that grows on the islands. But, as there is no available timber to be found on the islands, the seal-hunters had got a sort of frame over which they had stretched a seal-skin for a door; and on this door they had nailed up a *brass plate*, to remind them, I suppose, of the habits and manners of civilisation.

"The ingenious M. de Buffon says, 'The navigators pretend that the continent of the Austral lands is much colder than that of the Arctic Pole; but there is not the least appearance that this opinion is well founded, and probably it has been adopted by voyagers on no other account than because they found ice in a latitude where it is seldom or never to be met with in our northern seas; but that may be produced by some peculiar causes.' * If we compare the meteorological observations made at Falkland Islands, at about 51° south latitude, and communicated by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq., in his 'Collection of Voyages chiefly to the Southern Atlantic Ocean,' with such as are everywhere made in Europe in corresponding degrees of latitude of the northern hemisphere,—if we consider that in Tierra del Fuego, Staten Land, and South Georgia, from 54° to 56° south latitude, and in Sandwich Land in about 58° and 59° south latitude, the whole land is covered with eternal snow, to the shores of the sea, in the months of December and January, corresponding to our June and July,—every unprejudiced reader will find it necessary to allow the temperature of the southern hemisphere to be remarkably colder than that of the northern, and no one will, I believe, for the future venture to question this curious fact in the natural history of our globe."

"Having maturely considered every circumstance, I find that, with other causes founded on the apparent motion of the sun, *the absence of land in the higher latitudes of the southern hemisphere creates this material difference in the temperature of the air between the corresponding degrees of latitude in the Arctic and the Antarctic hemispheres.*"

"Nor can we omit the well-known circumstance, that the sun moves eight days longer in the northern than in the southern signs of the zodiac. This makes the winter eight days longer, and their summer eight days shorter, which altogether must cool the southern hemisphere by a $22\frac{1}{16}$th, or very nearly by a 23rd part more than the Arctic regions."

"The repeated approaches of our ship to the Antarctic circle were often announced by the fall of snow, sleet, and hail; but the first year, in 1772, we had snow very early in the latitude

* Buffon's Natural History, i. p. 312.

of 51° on December 11th. In the course of the following years we never had snow, except when we came into the neighbourhood of that circle. However, it must be observed that this happened during the height of summer: what weather, then, must not the winter season afford? We were happy enough to meet with no land to the southward, which might have seduced us to spend a cold season somewhere on it, and to experience the rigours of an Antarctic winter." *

Now, although this distinguished philosopher may have been in error in assuming that "the absence of land in the higher latitudes of the southern hemisphere" is the cause of the greater degree of cold in that hemisphere — especially as subsequent discoveries have proclaimed the existence of an extensive continent in these high southern latitudes — the fact is unquestionable, and that fact may not unreasonably be supposed to imply a lower mean temperature throughout the entire continent of Australia, than would be experienced in any similar extent of land included within the corresponding parallels of latitude in the northern hemisphere.

It is evident, from the copious extracts I have given in a previous chapter from the journal of Sir Thomas Mitchell in Tropical Australia, that this inexplicable influence is very sensibly felt far within the tropics, producing a climate in that part of Australia to which there is nothing similar in the corresponding latitudes of the northern hemisphere,— exceedingly and often intensely cold nights to counterbalance the hot days. This remarkable peculiarity of the Australian climate has often been observed. On the third day of his long and perilous journey to Port Essington from the northernmost station on the Darling Downs, in about latitude 26°, Dr. Leishhardt makes the following entry in his journal: "October 3rd.—The thermometer before and at sunrise 32°; so cold that I could not work with my knife." And Mr. Stuart, the distinguished South Australian traveller, who has recently reached the centre point of Australia, and traversed the previously unknown land as far north as the 19th parallel of latitude, has such entries in his journal as the following, even in these low latitudes:—

* Observations made during a Voyage round the World, &c., by John Reinold Forster, LL.D., London, 1778, pp. 86—109, *passim*.

"Sunday, March 4, 1860, Beresford Hill.—We feel the nights and mornings cold; the days are hot."

"Monday, March 5, Beresford Hill.—During the night the wind changed to the east, but towards morning it became very cold. Arrived at Strangeways' Springs. Wind variable and very hot (that is, during the day)."

"Friday, April 13, Brinkley's Bluff, Macdonnell Range, between 23° and 24° south.—An easterly wind. Night very cold."

"Wednesday, April 18, Mount Freeling, between 22° and 23°. —Nights and mornings cold."

"Saturday, April 21, Gum Creek, east side of Mount Freeling. —The days hot, but nights cool."

"Saturday, May 5, Native well.—By three o'clock in the morning we got them (the horses) all watered. It has been and is very cold."

"Friday, May 25.—Started for Mount Strzelecki. Wind south-east and very cold."

"Wednesday, June 13, Bishop's Creek (about lat. 19° south). —Nights and mornings very cold."

"Friday, June 15, Bishop's Creek.—Days hot; nights cool."

"Monday, July 9, the Bonney Creek.—Very cold nights and mornings."

The first two of these entries refer to localities considerably to the northward of the 30th parallel of latitude, and all the others to encampments *within* the tropics.

In a *précis* of the results of the voyage of the discovery-ship "Beagle," under Captain Wickham, R.N., and afterwards Captain Stokes, R.N., drawn up by the late Admiral King, and published in the "Sydney Herald" of Feb. 10, 1843, it is observed that "the next important feature of the 'Beagle's' voyage was the discovery of two considerable rivers at the bottom of the Gulf of Carpentaria, flowing through a fine country in a south-easterly direction for sixty miles, navigable for thirteen miles for vessels of thirteen feet draught, and to within five miles of where the water is fresh; the boats, however, traced it for nearly fifty miles farther, to the latitude of 17° 59′ and longitude 139° 30′. *The climate was found in the month of August to be of an agreeable character, the thermometer indicating an average temperature*

of 60°, *the minimum being* 50°. To these rivers the names of Albert and Flinders were given. The character of the country is low, and the soil chiefly alluvial. *No satisfactory reason has been given for the low temperature of this tropical region, which, as the latitude is about* 17°, *ought to have been at least* 70° *or* 75°."

The remarkable degree of cold which characterises the Australian nights, even in very low latitudes, is ascribed by certain scientific men, in part at least, to another cause, which is doubtless not without its influence in the general result. There is generally in Australia, and especially near the coast, a breeze during the day which counteracts and moderates the solar heat. But this breeze generally dies away towards the evening, and during the night there is a perfect calm, with a clear and unclouded atmosphere. Now, in such circumstances the radiation of heat from the surface of the earth after it has been exposed to the powerful solar influence during the previous day is always very great, and this process uniformly produces a corresponding degree of cold. I have myself experienced intense cold from this cause, during the night, when travelling overland by the mail from Sydney to Melbourne in the hottest months of the Australian year.

Now it is this remarkable peculiarity in the Australian climate that renders Queensland a peculiarly fit place for the residence of a European population; for although the climate is much hotter than that of England, the cool and often cold nights brace up and reinvigorate the frame to encounter the heat of the day. We have occasionally a greater degree of heat in Sydney than is ever felt either in Calcutta or in Jamaica; but it is the uniformly high temperature of these countries — the same during the night as during the day — that wears out and breaks down the European constitution.

On the other hand, there is a strong counteracting influence to be taken into account in connection with this subject. The equator of temperature, or line of greatest heat on the surface of the earth, is not coincident, as one would suppose it should be, with the real equator. It is sometimes — chiefly indeed — in the northern hemisphere, and sometimes, although but for a small extent of the whole circuit, in the southern. It crosses the line from the northern hemisphere into the southern about the 150°

of west longitude in the Pacific Ocean, reaching as high as the seventh degree of south latitude in the southern hemisphere, and it recrosses the line into the northern hemisphere at Singapore. Consequently the eastern portion of Australia, being midway between these points, is the place where the equator of temperature reaches its highest southern latitude.

From these combined influences there results another remarkable peculiarity of the Australian climate, viz., that although the general temperature of the southern hemisphere is considerably lower than that of the northern, the southern winters are much milder than those of the northern, and the temperature throughout the year is much more equable in the corresponding latitudes of the southern than in those of the northern hemisphere, a circumstance which is doubtless owing in some degree to the much greater extent of ocean in the southern hemisphere. In the city of Charleston, in America, situated in lat. 32½° N., I ascertained, during my visit to that city in the year 1840, that the orange-tree could not be grown either in the vicinity of Charleston or in that of Savannah or New Orleans, considerably farther south, in consequence of the intense frost in winter; and I observed that in the middle of April, the period of my visit, the interior of the churches in Charleston was still deformed by the unsightly tin tubes that traverse them in all directions for the circulation of artificially heated air during the winter. These are regularly removed every summer, but the summer had not fairly set in in Charleston even in the middle of April. But the orange grows luxuriantly in the vicinity of Sydney in latitude 34° S., and artificial heat is never thought of for warming the interior of churches in winter, even in Hobart Town, Van Dieman's Land, situated in 43° S., that is, eleven degrees higher than Charleston. The cotton plant, I may add, is an annual in America, being killed every year by the intense frost of that country; whereas it is a perennial in Australia, and, when once planted, continues to bear for eight or ten years successively, thereby saving much labour to the planter.

From the elevation of the coast-range, which traverses the whole extent of Queensland from south to north, generally at a distance of from sixty to seventy miles from the ocean, and attains an average height of 4000 feet, and from the various cross-ranges

and detached mountains that either intersect or stud the intervening country, this portion of the Australian continent is, generally speaking, blessed with a pretty regular and abundant supply of rain; and the vicinity of the intertropical regions of the North gives these rains a tropical character which is not experienced in the meteorology of New South Wales. The months of January and February constitute the rainy season, although the rains occasionally commence about the middle of December.

The rain-fall at Brisbane for the following years was as follows: —

1840	29·318	inches.
1841	49·309	„
1844	63·211	„
1845	39·091	„

The following paper, illustrative of the state of the weather for the twelve months commencing May, 1845, and terminating in April, 1846, was drawn up by John Kinchela, Esq., at a sheep station on the Logan River, Queensland, and will doubtless interest the intending emigrant, especially as it is divested of all scientific pretensions.

"MEMORANDA AS TO THE STATE OF THE WEATHER, KEPT AT THE LOGAN RIVER, MORETON BAY, IN 1845 AND 1846.

"*May*, 1845.—Of this month nineteen days were fine and clear; wind chiefly S.W.; heavy dews at night; six days were sultry, cloudy, with occasional thunder; three days showery; and three days, viz. 11th, 13th, and 27th, heavy rain.

"*June*.—This month was distinguished by a continuance of hard frosts at night; wind S. and S.W.; on the 11th considerable rain fell; some showers on the 17th, and a thunder-storm on the 25th at sunset.

"*July*.—This month was similar to the preceding, except the frost was not so severe. From the 10th to 14th cloudy and threatening, but only a trifling quantity of rain fell.

"*August*.—The frost continued frequent during the month; weather generally clear; occasional squalls, with threatening aspect, and showery on the 24th, 27th, and 31st.

"*September.*—Showery on the 5th, 9th, 10th, and 15th; frost broke up about the 18th; the remainder was clear and cool.

"*October.*—Showery 15th, 16th, 18th, and 19th, the weather becoming milder; the rest of the month fine and clear.

"*November.*—Warm and clear during this month, with slight showers on the 3rd and 14th, and thunder-storms on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 29th.

"*December.*—Heavy rain on the 10th, 12th, 13th, 16th, and 17th; thunder-showers 3rd, 21st, 22nd, 24th, 27th, and 30th; the remainder warm and clear.

"*January*, 1846.—Thunder and lightning very frequent, unaccompanied by rain; showery on 3rd and 14th; heavy rain on the 10th; weather fine and clear for the remainder of the month; heat powerful.

"*February.*—Rain on the 4th, 8th, 10th, 18th, and 25th, chiefly thunder-showers; heat oppressive; clear weather during the rest of the month.

"*March.*—Heavy rain on the 15th and 31st; occasional thunder without rain; the remainder of the month clear and cool.

"*April.*—No rain during this month; the weather fine, clear, and warm.

May, 1845	3 days rain	...	3 days showery	
June	2	...	1	
July	0	...	2	
August	0	...	3	
September	0	...	4	
October	0	...	4	
November	4	...	2	
December	5	...	6	
January, 1846	1	...	2	
February	0	...	5	
March	2	...	0	
April	0	...	0	
	17		32	
			17	
			49	

"JOHN KINCHELA.

"*Telumon, Logan River, 23rd May*, 1846."

In the month of August last, Dr. Barton, the meteorological observer for Brisbane, delivered a lecture in that city on the

climate of Queensland generally, and particularly of Brisbane. Of that lecture the following are extracts:—

"I have now to consider the climate of this country, more particularly this colony, and principally this place.

"Humboldt divided the hemispheres each into six spaces or belts, from the knowledge that their temperature was nearly similar; the lines in the direction of, but not generally parallel to, the equator, he called isothermal lines, and the spaces between them isothermal belts or zones. Thus, in the northern hemisphere, London, New York, and Pekin are on the same — the fourth — isothermal line, their mean temperature approximating, though their climate and vegetable productions are very different. In the southern hemisphere, Queensland is in the second isothermal belt, which has a mean temperature of 68° to 77°. The Cape of Good Hope and Chili are in the same space. In the corresponding belt in the northern hemisphere are Funchal, in the island of Madeira, and Algiers, on the Mediterranean coast of Africa. The following results of temperature have been noted at these places:—

	Funchal.	Algiers.
Mean temperature of warmest month	75·5	82·8
" " coldest month	64·0	60·1
" " year	68·5	70·0
" " winter	64·4	61·5
" " spring	65·8	65·7
" " summer	72·5	80·2
" " autumn	72·3	72·5

"The contrast will here be seen between Algiers, a variable climate, and Funchal, an insular or constant one. It is very important to obtain the mean temperature, as well as the extreme temperature of a place, as by these are climates classed as constant, variable, or extreme. Thus Funchal is constant, London and Paris variable, Pekin extreme; though the second and last, as I have just said, are on the same isothermal line. I am uncertain whether the climate of this neighbourhood should be classed amongst the constant or the variable: for although our

temperature is generally very steady, yet the diurnal range is considerable, and at times very great; but on the whole I consider it entitled to be called a constant climate. We are indebted to the sea-breeze—tempering the heat of summer—for this equalisation; it would not be felt further inland, and there greater variations of temperature might be expected. The climate of this colony, as well as of New South Wales, is salubrious, and very favourable to the European constitution; persons particularly who have arrived at, or passed, the middle age, in the more inhospitable climate of Britain, often have their health and vigour surprisingly renewed in this genial climate. Instances of persons arriving at great age are common—persons nearly or quite 100 years old being not unfrequently met with, and these generally retaining an amount of strength and activity to the last. From returns extending over many years, of the diseases of troops in foreign stations, I find that while the rate of mortality in the Windward and Leeward Islands has been 93½ per 1000 per annum, and in Jamaica 143 per 1000; in Australia and the Cape of Good Hope the mean annual mortality has been at the minimum, or only 15 per 1000. On this point Sir George Ballingall says of New South Wales, 'the climate generally is salubrious, although the heats in summer are excessive; the hottest and most unhealthy months are November, December, January, and February; the mean temperature during these months is 80°; March and April may be looked upon as the rainy season.'

"The diseases occurring in Queensland from atmospheric causes, and most commonly noticed, are ague, continued fever, chronic rheumatism, and influenza; the first two being caused by the exhalation of vegetable miasm; the next by undue exposure to wet and night air; the last by some unknown state of the atmosphere, producing at first ordinary colds, which soon become infectious and epidemic. I will now make a few remarks on the results noted at this station (Brisbane) for a complete year, noticing each season separately; premising, however, that as the observations have only been taken for two or three years, the results may have to be modified somewhat, after the observations have extended over a number of years:—

"SPRING.—This season extends from September 23rd to December 22nd:—

Mean maximum heat of spring	83·8
Mean temperature	71·9
Mean greatest diurnal range	33·9
Mean diurnal range	25·3

"SUMMER.—This season comprises the time between December 22nd and March 20th:—

Mean maximum heat of summer	87·2
Mean temperature	77·4
Mean greatest diurnal range	30·1
Mean diurnal range	20·4

"AUTUMN.—Comprised between March 20th and June 24th:—

Mean maximum heat of autumn	76·5
Mean temperature	64·4
Mean greatest diurnal range	35·5
Mean diurnal range	23·6

"WINTER.—Comprising the time between June 24th and September 23rd:—

Mean maximum heat of winter	75·0
Mean temperature	61·1
Mean greatest diurnal range	39·2
Mean diurnal range	27·2
Mean maximum heat of year	80·6
Mean temperature of year	68·7
Mean greatest diurnal range	34·7
Mean diurnal range	24·1

"The temperature of the year, then, as thus carefully ascertained, we see is 68°·7; almost exactly the same as that of Funchal, in the island of Madeira, which we have seen to be 68°·5; and which place, as already stated, is in the corresponding isothermal belt of the northern hemisphere; being classed amongst the insular or constant climates, and of world-wide repute for the salubrity of its climate.

"But while I unexpectedly find this almost exact coincidence of mean temperature, between Brisbane and Funchal, still I must notice that the range of temperature, both in summer and winter, is several degrees greater here than in Madeira; the summer here being a little hotter, and the winter colder. I shall add

such particulars of Australian climate as I am able to obtain, particularly the rainfall of this place, in a tabular form, which will be more useful for reference."

MEAN TEMPERATURE OF YEAR AND RAINFALL AT THE VARIOUS AUSTRALIAN STATIONS AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

	Mean Ann. Temperature of Year.	Mean Ann. Rainfall.	No. of Days Rain.
		Inches.	
Brisbane (Queensland).	68·7	43	108
Port Macquarie (N.S.W.)	63·5	71	—
York (Western Australia)	65·3	25	—
Perth do.	65·2	—	—
Parramatta (N.S.W.)	61·1	—	—
Sydney do.	61·1	49	146
Adelaide	64·9	20	—
Melbourne	57·6	29	—
Launceston (V.D. Land)	53·2	32	—
Hobart Town do.	53·3	20	—
London	50·4	23	—
Paris	51·0	24	—
New York	53·8	—	—
Pekin	54·9	—	—
Funchal (Madeira)	68·5	—	—
Algiers	70·0	36	—

I subjoin the following list of the meteorological observations made in Queensland, for the period of twelve months, from 1st October, 1858, to 30th September, 1859. For the first six months of that period, the station was at Cape Moreton; for the latter six at Brisbane, but as the observations at Brisbane for April 1859, were imperfect, I have substituted those at the Richmond River for that month, the climate of both localities being very nearly the same.

1858.	Mean Temperature.			Mean Max. Shade.	Mean Min. Shade.	Highest Shade.	Lowest Shade.	Greatest Diurnal Range.	Mean Max. Sun.	Mean Min. on Ground.	Mean height of Barometer reduced to 32° of Fahrenheit.			Rain in inches.	No. of Days Rain.
	9 a.m.	3 p.m.	9 p.m.								9 a.m.	3 p.m.	9 p.m.		
October.—Cape Moreton .	68·8	69·7	66·4	76	61·4	82·9	55	23·8	83·1	61·8	29·778	29·701	29·749	12·1	23
November.—Cape Moreton	71·9	72·5	68·9	79·1	65·1	92	59·5	24·4	85·8	64·9	29·69	29·62	29·66	5·51	17
December.—Cape Moreton	76·7	77·8	72·7	84·3	68·9	89·1	62	23·6	90·9	68·5	29·58	29·53	29·56	1·77	15
1859.															
January.—Cape Moreton	75·6	75·8	71·8	81·4	68·4	86	62·8	21	—	68	29·62	29·57	29·60	4·37	16
February.—Cape Moreton	77·9	79·7	73·9	86	70·1	94	64	26·9	106·3	68·7	29·59	29·53	29·57	0·58	8
March.—Cape Moreton .	75·2	76·3	71·8	82·1	67·2	89·2	61·1	22	99·5	66·8	29·65	29·58	29·63	5·97	16
April.—Richmond River .	79	80·2	63·2	88·3	54·9	99·4	46·6	45·6	103·1	—	29·99	29·91	29·97	1·71	4
May.—Brisbane . . .	61·5	73.3	59·5	79·3	53·2	91	34·5	37·9	89·6	49·8	30·11	30·01	30·07	0·89	8
June.—Brisbane . . .	56·1	65·7	54·6	70·6	48·1	79·3	37·6	35·3	83·6	44·5	30·09	29·90	30·06	6·09	12
July.—Brisbane . . .	52·2	67·8	49·8	72·8	41·7	78·1	36·4	40·8	95·8	27·8	30·15	30·06	30·13	0·03	1
August.—Brisbane . . .	58·1	69·2	55·6	74·2	48·3	83·2	38·2	39·9	94·1	45·3	30·16	30·06	30·12	3·01	11
September.—Brisbane . .	64·5	73·7	59·3	78·7	50·5	88·8	43	36·5	102·5	46·4	30·10	29·93	30·10	1·81	7

It appears, therefore, from this abstract, that during the twelve months from 1st October, 1858, to 30th September 1859, there were a hundred and fifteen days during which rain fell, in greater or smaller quantities at Brisbane, and that the rainfall for that period amounted to 43·84 inches. And the reader will observe, from the record of the thermometer during the same period, that the heat indicated is by no means either formidable or excessive.

It will be abundantly evident to the reader, from these important statistical documents, that the temperature of Queensland, even in the heat of summer, is comparatively moderate—that the rains are regular and abundant, and that the climate is remarkably equable, and by no means unfavourable to a European constitution. It is a remarkable circumstance in the meteorology of this part of the coast, as compared with that of New South Wales, that while the sea-breeze is much more regular at Moreton Bay than in Sydney, the hot north-west winds, which are occasionally so oppressive in Sydney, and sometimes fatal to vegetation, are not experienced at Moreton Bay; the region in which they originate being too far to the westward for a northerly wind passing over it to reach that part of the coast. In confirmation of this opinion, a respectable squatter on the Darling Downs, where the winds are always either easterly or westerly, has informed me that they do occasionally experience a hot wind in that part of the colony; and that such winds are uniformly from the west.

But the grand distinguishing feature in the meteorology of the entire east coast of Australia, is the remarkable dryness of the atmosphere, and the absence of that entire class of diseases originating principally in the *malaria* generated by stagnant water—agues, intermittent fevers, yellow fever, &c., &c.—that are so prevalent and so fatal in the southern and western states of America.

The following report on the sanitary character of the Moreton Bay district was drawn up at my request many years ago by the late Dr. Ballow, colonial surgeon; who fell a victim himself to an imported disease, caught in the discharge of his professional duty on board an ill-regulated emigrant ship that had just arrived from England, and been placed in quarantine:—

"The district of Moreton Bay is, altogether, an extremely

healthy one, very few deaths occurring from disease of any kind.

"Intermittent fever prevails at times in certain localities, more particularly in the neighbourhood of swampy grounds, and in situations where there is no free current of air to drive off the miasmata arising from the decaying vegetable matter.

"This malady occurs at times only, chiefly after long-continued rains, and in most cases is mild in its attacks, soon yields to treatment, leaves no permanent bad effects, and has never to my knowledge been fatal.

"Rheumatic affections are probably more frequent than any other form of disease; but these also, at least in my experience, soon give way under a use of remedies, and subsequent attacks may be guarded against by a moderate degree of precaution.

"Diseases of the liver, and of the stomach and bowels are, I think, considering the latitude (27° 30′) by no means frequent; and in those cases where the first named viscus is affected, there is generally merely functional derangement, organic disease being rarely met with.

"Women generally get over their confinements easily, puerperal or childbed fever being seldom known. Indeed, I recollect but one case only, during my eight years' practice here, and in that one the woman had been ailing for some time previous to delivery.

"Children thrive well, and all the ailments and diseases incident to infancy and childhood are mild in their attacks and soon got over.

"Any diseases we have at all generally occur in the spring and autumn, as at these seasons the nights and mornings are cold and the middle of the days hot, the thermometer averaging about 50° in the morning and about 80° at noon.

"The climate here during what is called the winter season is, perhaps, about one of the finest in the world, the middle part of the day being just pleasantly warm, and the evening cold enough to enable us to have a fire.

"I think the best character I can give the district is to say of it, that it is by no means a profitable field for practitioners of medicine."

Another medical gentleman, who had been residing for years previous at Moreton Bay, and whose opinion I had also asked as to its sanitary character, replied in the following terms: —

"My dear Sir,—You are pleased to ask my opinion as to the climate of this district and its fitness for European labour. No doubt it is hot; but although the temperature is high, as indicated by the thermometer, still it has not the depressing effect of the same degree of heat in other parts of the world. The men work all day in the sun, and the average of health is the same as in other parts of the colony.

"We have few diseases that are not as common at home, and we are exempt from many that are frequent there. On our first settlement, many cases of ague occurred, but none proved fatal; and I have not seen a case for a period of nearly three years.

"Women and children are subject to few diseases; parturition is easy, and rarely requires assistance; indeed, my practice is in most cases confined to disease brought on by intemperance or caused by accident. I do not apprehend that the duration of life will be longer here than the 'threescore years and ten;' but, as far as climate is concerned, we have nothing to dread. In short, it is almost too healthy for the doctors."

The writer of this letter, I may add, was no mere theorist. He showed the sincerity of his belief by acting upon his own theory, that is, by abandoning the lancet for the sheep-shears, and becoming a squatter; in which capacity it is understood that he has since accumulated a handsome fortune.

I had also put the same question to the Rev. Karl Wilhelm Schmidt, of the German Mission to the aborigines, at Moreton Bay, who replied as follows: —

"Without fear of contradiction, I give you my opinion that there can scarcely be any other climate in the world superior to that of Moreton Bay. The summer is hot, it is true, but the heat is greatly modified by fine sea-breezes. The excellency of the climate may be shown by the very circumstance that it is neither subject to sudden changes nor to hot winds. This steadiness of the climate enables even Europeans to be engaged in every agricultural operation without endangering their health. I, for my own part, have been working with my own hands, both winter and summer, and generally all day long, although I was

not accustomed to manual labour from my youth, and I never enjoyed better health in my life.

"There is another fact which may support my opinion. Our missionary establishment consisted, as you are aware, of nineteen individuals, of whom only one was removed to the heavenly mansions by a malignant tumour in the cheek; but not a single death has occurred as yet amongst the twenty-five children that were born at our station.

"The winter doubtless is the finest season; it resembles more the summer of Europe. The nights are sometimes rather cold, and even ice is seen here and there, but only a few tender plants suffer from the effects of the cold. Vegetation in general is not impaired; in fact, of the seven winters during which I lived at Moreton Bay, there passed three which were so mild that not even a leaf of the tenderest plant was flipped."

In addition to these important testimonies of witnesses so highly competent, in regard to the salubrity of the climate of Queensland, and its adaptation to the constitution of the European labourer, I am happy to have it in my power to subjoin the three following from other three witnesses, equally competent, and whose united testimony is equally favourable. The first is part of a letter addressed to myself by my worthy friend, the lamented Leichhardt, shortly after his return from Port Essington in the year 1846. Previous to his starting on that expedition he had been residing in the Moreton Bay country for about two years. His opinion and experience of the climate are as follows:—

"I never had an instance of working men suffering by heat in this colony. I myself, not accustomed to hard work, have been occupied for days and weeks in felling trees, in making fatiguing excursions, carrying heavy loads, without any bad effect. On the contrary, working people generally improve in health after leaving the settlement*, for the publican is the real ague of this colony. I feel the heat much more at the settlement, at Limestone†, and under Cunningham's Gap (Cameron's station), than at the stations to the northward, which probably depends from the freer access of the sea breeze."

* Brisbane. † Ipswich.

The second of the three testimonies to which I have alluded above is contained in a letter, also addressed to myself, by Robert Dixon, Esq., for two years a government surveyor, and constantly engaged in field labour in Moreton Bay. Mr. Dixon writes as follows:—

"During upwards of two years' residence at Moreton Bay, I am convinced the climate is such as is quite suitable to the constitution of British labourers. I carried on my field-surveying operations the same as in other parts of the colony, without the least injury to the men's health. Those employed there in field labour had two hours at dinner-time in midsummer, and one in winter, and were all strong and healthy; and the twenty-one men attached to the survey department, who had just arrived from England, all kept in good health."

The last of the testimonies I shall quote on this subject, is that of another government surveyor in the Moreton Bay district, whom I have had occasion to mention repeatedly in a former chapter of this work. I mean Henry Wade, Esq., then of Brisbane. Mr. Wade writes as follows:—

"Having made sundry inquiries as to the ability of a European constitution to stand such out-door labour as is necessary for agricultural operations, I find that those who have been in the colony but a short period work the entire day, and still in the enjoyment of perfect health and spirits. But emigrants, on their first arrival here, are, generally speaking, unable to perform an ordinary day's work for more than from eight to nine months in the year for at least the first two years, after which period they become inured to the climate, and can work the same number of hours per diem throughout the year as those in the southern parts of the country.

"I speak much from experience, having resided here about four years. On my arrival I found it most oppressive, and at the time supposed I should never be able to carry on my field operations with credit to myself and satisfaction to the Government; but, from being now accustomed to the climate, I could perform out-door work with as little fatigue as in any other part of the colony. The mornings and evenings are most delightful, and I should certainly recommend newly-arrived emigrants, who are agriculturists, to carry on their field labours at such times

for at least two years. An industrious person would perform an ordinary day's labour even then, and during the heat of the day be profitably employed in arranging his domestic comforts, &c."

I need scarcely observe that, in speaking of the colony, these gentlemen mean New South Wales, which then included Queensland, as one of its vast districts.

So fully established in public opinion in the Australian colonies is the salubrious character of the climate of Queensland, that Moreton Bay is now regarded by the faculty in the southern colonies, exactly as Madeira or the south of France is in England, as a sanitarium for invalids of a consumptive tendency; who, it is much to be regretted, are not unfrequently sent thither from Sydney, Melbourne, and Hobart Town, when too far gone for the recuperative influence of the milder climate to arrest the fatal progress of disease. I have myself known cases of remarkable recovery in persons who, when threatened with consumption, had gone to Moreton Bay for a time for the recovery of their health. In other cases I have known of individuals who had been given up by the faculty in Sydney, in Melbourne, and England, and told that if they remained where they were for another winter, they would be sure to die, recovering for a time, and having three or four years added to their life by going to Moreton Bay. Of course, when the disease has gone a certain length, its progress may be impeded by favourable climatic influences, although it may not be arrested in its fatal course.

I have known also in New South Wales of a wonderful change for the better being wrought, as if by magic, in the case of persons of an asthmatic habit, by the mere mechanical withdrawal of the two or three thousand feet of the lowest and heaviest strata of the atmosphere, or in other words, by the patient's ascending to one or other of the elevated plateaus along the coast range of mountains in Australia. The lungs of such persons, although unable to stand the atmospheric pressure, where it is greatest, near the sea-level, can act freely and healthfully on these higher levels. The coast range in Queensland will, of course, afford the same facilities.

In connection with the sanitary character of the climate of Queensland, I have much pleasure in noticing the persevering

and not unsuccessful efforts of Dr. Hobbs, of Brisbane, to bring into use in his profession, the dugong-oil, of Queensland, as a substitute for the nauseous cod-liver oil, for consumptive and other patients.

It was Dr. Hobbs who first discovered the medicinal qualities of this oil, of which he has described the rationale and effects in a published lecture, entitled "Elaiopathy." I subjoin the following description, by Dr. Hobbs, both of the animal and of its oil, from one of our colonial journals:—

"THE DUGONG AND ITS OIL.—The dugong resembles somewhat in shape and size the porpoise, but is unlike it in having no dorsal fin. The hide or skin in its dried state, although much thicker, partakes of the character of pig skin, and if tanned and prepared, would, doubtless, make good saddles. The bones are very heavy, of the same specific gravity as ivory, and take a beautiful polish; when struck together they give out a metalliferous sound, indicating the density of their structure, and reminding one of the bones of Behemoth, which were 'like bars of iron.' The eyes are very small and deep-set in the head, like those of a fat pig. The ears also are very small. The tail is like that of a whale; and as the fins, one on either side, are so very small in proportion to the size of the animal, it is evidently the principal propelling power. The dugong is a graminivorous ruminant; by means of its large lips the long blady grass growing on the banks in shallow water is plucked off and conveyed to the mouth, the roof and floor of which are curiously covered with circular tufts of short bristly hair, resembling two shoe brushes which have been almost worn down to the wood. The design of this is very evident; the thin blades of grass could not be retained in the mouth were it not for this arrangement. The tongue is short, thick, and small; in the upper jaw the bulls have two front teeth or tusks; the females (cows) have none; the grinders are like those of the ox. The stomach is precisely similar to that of ruminant animals in general, full of grass, of various degrees of fineness, indicating more than one mastication, and innumerable long worms, like those found in horses occasionally. The heart is like the whale's, double. The lungs are of great length, and of great capacity. The mammæ are beneath the fins, as in other mammalia of that class. In

rising to blow, the dugong exposes less of the body than the porpoise, and at a distance might be mistaken for a turtle. The meat of this animal when fresh is very tender and savoury; its muscular fibre is very short and easily masticated. To persons suffering from weak stomachs the dugong meat would prove a very nutritious and easily digested article of diet.

"The mode of capture for commercial purposes is by long nets, but when sport is the object the harpoon is used. It is whaling, in fact, on a small scale; as a sport, it is as exciting as fox-hunting, without the noise. The oil procured from this animal is very sweet compared with other animal or fish oils; and although no one would take oil from choice, yet, compared with cod-liver oil and other medicinal remedies, it is palatable. Its principal action is that of a tonic in the debility occasioned by chronic disease, or in general constitutional debility of the young or aged."

Man, however, is mortal, and in the finest climates under the sun, he must sooner or later die. I shall append, at the close of this chapter, a summary of the deaths that took place in Brisbane, during the twelve months ending on the 30th September, 1859, which will show the reader the sort of ills that flesh is more peculiarly heir to in Queensland.

In regard to the ability of Europeans generally to stand field-labour of any kind with impunity in the climate of Queensland, I was enabled, from having visited Moreton Bay repeatedly in the months of November and December, the hottest season of the year, to form a pretty correct judgment on the subject from my own feelings and observation. At that season, therefore, I found European carpenters, bricklayers, and other handicraftsmen, whose occupations required them to be much in the sun, pursuing their accustomed labours just as they do in Sydney. On conversing with some of them who had been for years in New South Wales, they told me they knew no difference in the climate, as far as their ability to pursue their usual occupations was concerned, from that of Sydney and Hunter's River; while others admitted that they felt it rather hot at first, but soon got used to it, and the heat did them no harm. I found a respectable farmer's sons regularly at the plough, whenever the weather, which was very much broken at the time from the commence-

ment of the rains, permitted them, in the middle of December; and they told me they could work as freely, and with quite as little risk in the open air at their station, in latitude 27°, as they could in any part of the old colony. It is customary, however, for persons labouring in the field in the heat of summer to "knock off," as it is termed, or to intermit their labour at noon, and to recommence at four P.M. In short, there is no difficulty in the way of the introduction and employment of European free labour in Queensland, arising from the heat of the climate. Europeans arriving in the hot season will, doubtless, find their system somewhat relaxed at first, and be tempted to give way to lassitude; but the human body soon becomes accustomed to any degree of temperature that can be borne without injurious effects. At all events, there are eight months in the year delightfully cool and pleasant, and by appropriating to out-of-door labour the early portion, and the close of the day during the four hot months, as is done universally in the south of Europe, any unpleasantness arising from the excessive heat of the climate, during the four months of a semi-tropical Australian summer, may easily be obviated.

SUMMARY

OF DEATHS OF MALES AND FEMALES REGISTERED IN BRISBANE FROM 1ST OCTOBER, 1858, TO 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1859.

	CAUSES OF DEATH.	Under 1 year.	1 to 2	2 to 3	3 to 4	4 to 5	Total under 5 years.	5 to 10	10 to 15	15 to 20	20 to 25	25 to 30	30 to 35	35 to 40	40 to 45	45 to 50	50 to 55	55 to 60	60 to 65	70 to 75	75 to 80	Total at all Ages.
1	Zymotic Diseases (Endemic, Epidemic, &c.)	2	...	1	...	2	5	...	1	..	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
	Sporadic Diseases (occurring singly).																					
2	Of uncertain seat	19	...	2	...	...	21	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	26
3	Of nervous system	7	3	1	...	...	11	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	15
4	Of respiratory system	1	1	1	...	...	3	...	1	...	3	4	1	2	1	1	2	1	...	...	...	19
5	Of circulatory system	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	..	1	...	...	3
6	Of digestive organs	2	...	...	1	..	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	1	...	...	...	1	12
7	Of urinary organs	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
8	Of generative organs	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	3
9	Of locomotive organs	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
10	Of integumentary system	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0
11	Old age	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2
12	External causes	1	...	1	1	...	3	...	1	1	1	3	4	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	15
	Unspecified	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	Total from all causes	33	4	6	2	2	47	...	7	1	7	10	8	7	6	4	6	2	3	1	1	110

CHAP. X.

ADAPTATION OF QUEENSLAND FOR IMMEDIATE AND EXTENSIVE COLONIZATION.

THE title of this chapter will suggest the inference which, it appears to me, we are fully warranted to draw from the facts and statements contained in the previous chapters of this work. Indeed, I question whether there has ever been any portion of the vast colonial empire of Britain so admirably adapted for immediate and extensive colonization as Queensland,—as well from its soil and climate, and from the extent and variety of its productions, as from the facilities it affords for internal communication to the eastward of the coast range, by means of steam-navigation. With a steam-vessel plying daily, perhaps, between the capital, and each of the navigable rivers that empty themselves along the whole line of coast, how very different would be the situation of an industrious family of immigrants, possessed of a moderate extent of land on one of these rivers, from that of almost any settler of the same class in society and possessing the same extent of land in any of the British provinces of North America! Supposing, for example, that the emigrant were settled near the head of the navigation of one or other of the rivers either to the north or to the south of Brisbane, the steamboat would leave his immediate vicinity for the capital early in the morning, and without employing an agent, he would embark himself with his produce for the first market in the colony. Stopping at the principal localities on the beautiful stream, to take in passengers and cargo, the steamboat would reach the mouth of the river some time in the afternoon; and performing the ocean part of the voyage during the night, she would reach Brisbane early on the following day. The settler would thus have the whole day before him to dispose of his

produce in the chief town of the colony, and to procure his supplies; and having transacted his business, he would be ready to embark again on his return, probably in the afternoon or evening, to enable the steamer to perform the ocean part of the voyage during the night, and to reach the mouth of his own river at break of day. The sail up the river would only occupy from five to eight hours longer, according to the number of stopping-places on the banks, and the settler would thus return to the bosom of his family, in the course of the third day from his departure, with all his produce sold, and all his farm-supplies along with him, while the whole expense to and fro would be a mere trifle.

This is by no means an imaginary picture, but one that has already been realised in the colony of New South Wales, wherever the benefits and blessings of steam-navigation are available in that colony. My brother, Mr. Andrew Lang, of Dunmore, Hunter's River, now a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, is settled about forty miles from the mouth of the River Hunter, which disembogues at Newcastle, about seventy miles to the northward of Sydney; and about thirty years ago, when I had occasion to visit that part of the country, it took me regularly three days' hard riding over a rugged mountainous country to reach his residence overland, the distance being upwards of 110 miles; and on that journey I have repeatedly been out two nights by the way, sleeping on the grass, wrapped up in a boat-cloak, by a fire we had kindled in the open forest. And when I contrived to go by water, as the weekly sailing-packet, which would frequently occupy several days on the voyage, went only to the mouth of the river, I had to be rowed up or down by two boatmen the rest of the way, bivouacking generally for a few hours on the banks during the night, till the tide turned. In either case the delay, fatigue, and annoyances of the journey were great, and the expense serious. Now, however, there are steamboats plying daily to and fro on this course, and as they start from Sydney at 11 P.M., when the business of the day is over, to perform the ocean part of the voyage during the night, and to ascend the river in the morning, I reach my brother's place, three miles from the head of the navigation of the river, at nine

or ten o'clock next day; while the whole expense of the trip is a mere trifle. The only interruption to this species of navigation is during the prevalence of a strong southerly or south-easterly gale, for at such times the steamboat bound to Sydney must remain at the mouth of the Hunter till the gale abates. This interruption, however, would be less felt along the coast of Queensland; for in consequence of the greater mildness of the climate, the southerly gales are both less frequent and less violent there than they are to the southward.

Settlers located on any of the rivers that disembogue in Moreton Bay,—the Kumera-Kumera, the Logan, the Brisbane and its tributaries, the Pine River, and the Cabulture River,—would all be still more favourably situated for frequent and rapid intercourse with the capital than those outside the bay; as steam communication with any of these rivers would never be interrupted by any winds that blow in the Pacific.

Under the new land system, so very judiciously established by the Parliament of Queensland, a hundred thousand acres of the very best land for cultivation are set apart for the settlement of an agricultural population along the navigable rivers I have already described on the coast-line, towards the Pacific; and ten thousand acres additional within five miles of every town having a population of five hundred souls. There will, therefore, be a large amount of steam communication available with the capital for the future agricultural settlers on the different navigable rivers along the coast; and as a tramroad or wooden railway is now constructing from Ipswich, the head of the navigation of the Brisbane and Bremer Rivers, to Toowoomba, a vast extent of land of the first quality, and in one of the finest climates imaginable, will be easily accessible for the settlement of thousands of small farmers on both sides of the coast range. In short, there will be no lack of eligible means of communication, in the first instance at least, in Queensland; and one has only to compare the circumstances of the ten thousand colonists who will ere long be located on the banks of the various navigable streams of that colony, steaming cheerily along with their produce under a cloudless sky to the provincial capital, with those of the Canadian farmers lashing their weary bullocks over the miserable corduroy-roads of British America, up to the knees, perhaps, in mud or sleet and

snow, to see how benignant the God of nature has been to the one country, and how sparing, comparatively, of his benefits and blessings to the other.

Indeed, there is the utmost difference imaginable between the rigours of a Canadian winter of six or seven months' duration, and the paradisaical climate of Queensland, in which the productions of both the temperate and the torrid zones grow harmoniously together, and the process of vegetation goes on uninterruptedly during the whole year. In the single item of clothing the settler in Queensland, where light clothing of the cheapest fabric is generally worn, would be saved a comparatively large amount of expenditure to which the British North American farmer is necessarily subject.*

And what are the exportable productions of Canada to be compared with those of Queensland? Its only exports that I know of are wheat and timber; but the timber of Queensland, is of far greater variety and much more valuable for all purposes than that of Canada, while the wheat of the one country is just as good as that of the other. But where is there any article of Canadian produce to match with the fine wool of Australia,—I mean either sheep's wool or cotton wool,—or with any of the long list of other valuable productions, whether of the temperate or of the tropical regions, for which the soil and climate of Queensland are so admirably adapted?

I am happy to have it in my power to insert here for the guidance and direction of the future emigrant to Queensland, one other extract from the writings of the distinguished traveller

* The following is an extract of the evidence of John Dobie, Esq., R.N., for many years a resident proprietor in the Clarence River district, when examined before a select committee of the legislature of New South Wales.

"The advantages this country holds out to the immigrant are far beyond those presented by the North American colonies; the two countries cannot be compared in point of climate; here we have a splendid climate and mild weather, instead of a long dreary winter; there the people suffer very many privations. I have been in North America when the people could not work for six or eight months in the year; during the greater part of that time the country was covered with snow; in this country there is no interruption to a man's labour.

"The article of clothing is very expensive in North America, but that is a very trifling expense to men here; the expense of clothing in North America would take up half a man's wages; the article of clothing is almost the only expense a man is put to in this colony."

Dr. Leichhardt, whose literary remains are now particularly interesting from the great services he rendered to Australia, and from his own mysterious and melancholy fate. It is part of a letter to myself, of date 1846, and is as follows:—

"There are perhaps few spots better adapted for agricultural purposes, than those rich flats which accompany the upper part of the Brisbane, the Durrundur, Stanley's Creek, and their numerous tributaries. The soil is the detritus of basaltic rock, of syenite and diorite, or of sandstone and pudding or conglomerate. The basaltic soil is black, principally clay, with a good share of vegetable matter, and concretions of limestone or marl; the syenitic is generally a stiff clay, mixed more or less with sand: the same mixture exists in the soil of the sandstone and conglomerate country, which are nothing else but a regenerate rock formed by the detritus of primitive rocks. Instances of basaltic soil in considerable stretches occur at Mr. Bigge's, at Limestone, at Normanby Plains. At Archer's, Mackenzie's, Bigge's, Macconnel's stations, alluvial flats of a more clayey nature with a share of sand are found; and along the sea coast between the settlement and the Glass-houses, sandstone and sandy soil are prevailing. The northern part of Moreton Bay is preferable to the southern, because it has a greater share of moisture, though the whole district is highly favoured with rain. I have seen the finest crops of wheat at Archer's, Mackenzie's, Balfour's, Bigge's and Macconnel's stations, though these gentlemen had just commenced to make the experiment, neither having good and equal grain (instead of one variety three or four mixed which ripened unequally), nor knowing exactly the best time of putting it in the ground; which is of the highest importance, in consequence of the rains."

There are various classes of persons in the mother-country for whom, it appears to me, emigration to Queensland would be likely to prove highly eligible, under the present land-system of that colony, and the bounties which it holds forth for emigration on the one hand, and for cotton-growing on the other.

There is, *first*, the small tenant farmer struggling to earn a scanty subsistence for his family, after paying his rent, his tithes, his taxes, and his poor-rates. There are thousands of such families in this country, who, after disposing of their goods and

chattels, would be able to pay their own passage out to Queensland, and to commence farming there on their own account. Supposing, therefore, that a family of this description, consisting of a husband and wife and four children, from four to fourteen years of age, were emigrating to that colony, their passage out would cost, at the highest rate of 20*l.* for each adult, and half that amount for each child, 80*l.* altogether. But then they would be entitled on their arrival to select, as their own absolute property, seventy-two acres of as good land as any in England, with forty-eight more (or 120 acres altogether), to be added to the original quantity in the event of their remaining in the colony for two years. This land would all be either on the bank of some navigable river, or within a few miles of some rising town; and, while there would be no rent to pay for it, it would be altogether free from any such public burdens as tithes or taxes or poor-rates. The emigrant, moreover, would thenceforth be a freeholder in his county, and his influence would immediately be seen and felt in assisting to send fit and proper persons to the Local Parliament to make laws for his adopted country.

Much of the land available for agriculture in Queensland is naturally clear of timber, and consequently requires no outlay whatever previous to fencing and breaking up for cropping. But even the heavily-timbered land, which is the best for wheat, is very easily cleared, as it is generally covered with the broad or silver-leaved iron-bark tree, which, if once ignited, even when in full growth, will burn out to the very extremity of the roots, although four feet in the ground. This is no doubt, a very dangerous mode of clearing land, as the burning trees may fall unexpectedly and occasion fatal accidents. A remarkable case of this kind happened in New South Wales more than thirty years ago, where a road-party of convicts, under the penal system then prevalent in that colony, had kindled fires at the roots of a number of large trees in the line of the road they were forming, leaving them to fall when burned through. Three runaway convicts, who had been committing depredations in the neighbourhood, and been apprehended, were walking along this road, all chained to each other, in charge of a constable, when one of these trees happened to fall in the direction of their route. It was a forked tree, which, at some distance from the ground, formed

two strong arms diverging slightly from each other. Each of these arms struck down the man to the right and left and killed him on the spot, leaving the one in the centre alive and unhurt, chained to the two dead bodies of his late accomplices in crime!

It is not advisable even for a respectable family, possessed of considerable means, (as I have shown in a previous chapter of this work,) to expend much money in the first instance in the erection of a house on their Australian farm. Still less will this be requisite in the case of the humbler emigrant or tenant farmer of the mother-country. The best situation for a dwelling-house, even on a small farm, if at all wooded, is not always selected in the first instance; and the time and money requisite for the erection of a permanent residence may be much better expended otherwise. A slab-house, with or without deal-floors and glass-windows, and covered with bark, costing from 5*l.* to 50*l.*, according to its size and conveniences, will afford sufficiently comfortable accommodation for any family for a few years in so mild a climate as that of Queensland; and if the proprietor be a man of taste, selecting a proper site for his cottage on a gentle rising ground in full view of the river, festooning the rustic columns of his verandah with the vine, or with any of the beautiful flowering parasitical plants of the country, and disposing orange-trees, fig-trees, olives, and pomegranates, interspersed with patches of bamboos, bananas, and pine-apples, in ornamental groups in front, even Calypso and her nymphs would not disdain to rent the cottage for summer-quarters, if they happened to land in Australia.

I repeat it:—there are hundreds, nay thousands, of small farmers in the mother-country, toiling from year to year for a bare subsistence, perhaps to make up their rack-rent for some heartless landlord, who, if they could only muster capital sufficient to pay their way to Queensland, and to settle, with a team of bullocks and a few months' supplies, on the land, to which they would be entitled on their arrival, and which they would also be at perfect liberty to select for themselves within any one of the government agricultural reserves, would infallibly find themselves, in a very short period, on the highway to comfort and independence. Their stout sons and daughters, for whom it is so difficult to find a

proper outlet, suitable to their habits and feelings, under existing circumstances in Great Britain or Ireland, would be a treasure to their parents on their arrival in Australia, and would soon be all settled as independent colonial farmers on their own account, or the wives of such farmers, perhaps, in the same district as their parents. But if such farmers themselves should choose rather to toil on at home, than endeavour to better their fortunes abroad, why should their sons follow their example, and thereby, in all likelihood, descend gradually into the class of mere labourers or hired servants? Let these young men be enabled to marry, to emigrate, and to settle on their land — sixty acres for a husband and wife — in the way and with the prospects I have detailed, and their parents will not only be consulting the best interests of their offspring, at least for the present life, but conferring the greatest possible benefit upon the mother-country and the colonies.

In addition to those articles of agricultural produce that are indispensable for a small farmer, either for sale or for domestic consumption, a family of the class I have been describing could grow a few acres of cotton, both as an article of marketable produce, and to entitle themselves to the government *bonus* of ten acres of land for every bale of clean cotton of 300 lbs. weight. I do not suppose that the ginning process, or the cleaning of the cotton from the seed, which is entirely a mechanical operation, would require to be performed by the small farmer on his own account, as indeed, it is not desirable that it should. As soon as a few farmers, determined to devote their energies in some degree at least to the growth of that commodity, are settled in any part of Queensland, there will be ginning establishments formed in all suitable localities, either to clean the cotton at so much per pound, or to purchase it in the seed from the farmer. In this way the work will be much better performed, by persons accustomed to the operation; and the interests of all concerned will be the better secured.

And let the emigrant farmer bear in mind, that while six acres under cotton is considered a man's work in America, one acre of ground in Queensland will grow two bales of the weight above mentioned; and let him also bear in mind that his children, if he

has any, will be of as much service to him in the light labour of the picking season as the same number of adults.

In like manner, if a central establishment for the manufacture of sugar were to be formed, as there doubtless will be very shortly in every central locality in the new colony, it would be quite as easy for the small farmer to grow a few tons of sugar-cane, to be sold at the market price at the nearest sugar-mill, as it would be to grow as much maize or Indian corn. The chemical operation in this case, as well as the mechanical in the other, would be much better performed by persons bred up and accustomed to the process.

But it is not only the class of small farmers and their sons for whom emigration to Queensland would be a highly prudent and proper enterprise; there are numberless respectable persons, of all classes in the mother-country, with small capitals, of from 250*l.* or 500*l.* each up to a thousand pounds, for which they can find no profitable employment in business, without the utmost hazard of its entire loss, and with rising families of sons and daughters, for whom the prospect at home, in the present overstocked condition of every profession and branch of business, is sufficiently unpromising, who, I am confident, would find it their interest, in every sense of the word, to emigrate to Queensland. It is quite a mistake to suppose that an apprenticeship, longer or shorter, in the mother-country, is at all necessary before entering upon the business of a colonial farmer. The soil and climate do so much for those who are inclined to do anything for themselves, that common sense and observation, combined with common industry and perseverance, will ensure success in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, whatever the settler may have been at home; whether a professional man or a merchant — whether a shop-keeper or a mechanic — whether a weaver or a day-labourer. Nay, if a person emigrating to such a country as Queensland, with a determination to look principally to the land for his future subsistence, have common sense and common industry, it may probably be all the better for his success that he knows comparatively little of farming at home; for in that case he will be free from the prejudices of regularly bred English farmers, and ready to adopt whatever course or expedient the peculiarities of the soil and climate of his adopted country may

suggest. Besides, a reputable family of the class in question would do well to take out with them a few families of farm labourers — more or fewer in proportion to the amount of their disposable capital — to do the rougher work on the farm, and to give lessons, perhaps, without knowing it, to their employers. Under the new land-system of Queensland, the emigrant capitalist who had paid the passage of these labourers, would be entitled to receive the land which they would otherwise have claimed themselves; and perhaps there would be no better way of carrying out a portion at least of his capital. For if he should find that he would have too much land in this way, he would be able, in all likelihood, to place the labourers he had carried out with him on small farms as tenants, with the right of purchase; the price to be paid in labour at the regular market price. There is nothing of which the humbler and industrious classes of society in all countries, and more especially our own, are more ambitious than of obtaining a small piece of land which they can call their own; and the emigrant capitalist would thus have it entirely in his own power to ensure to himself a regular supply of valuable labour at the current rates of the country. There have often indeed been attempts made in the mother-country to hire labourers and mechanics for the colonies at a much lower rate of wages than those current at the time in Australia; but the *bonus* in land offered by the Parliament of Queensland for the promotion of immigration has now removed every temptation to this species of dishonesty: the emigrant capitalist will receive an extent of land sufficient to cover the entire cost of the importation of his labourers, and the labourer will henceforth receive the regular wages of the colony.

I have hitherto confined my observations, in reference to the prospects for emigrants of small capital, to farming properly so called, or the cultivation of the land. But any respectable person emigrating to Queensland with the intention of purchasing a moderate extent of land, and settling with his family on one or other of the rivers I have enumerated, and having additional capital to spare, could purchase sheep and cattle besides, and form a squatting station at a greater or lesser distance from his farm, according as he could find an eligible and unoccupied *run*. It is not desirable, indeed, to divide the energies of an emigrant family in this way, unless, perhaps, where there are several grown-up

sons, one or two of whom could be sent off in charge of the flocks and herds to the squatting station; for which the sum of 10*l.* a year is payable to the Government for a licence, in addition to a small assessment on the stock. Besides, it is the principal object of this work to point out the eligibility of Queensland as a field for the emigration of persons who would devote their energies exclusively to the cultivation of the soil, and who do not possess the amount of capital requisite to engage in sheep and cattle grazing in Australia with a reasonable prospect of success. For this purpose a capital of 2000*l.* would be requisite, or a partnership of two young men forming a joint-stock concern with a capital of 1000*l.* each, as the expenses of a smaller establishment than this amount of capital would imply are equally great, and consequently absorb the whole profits. Generally speaking, however, it would be absurd for persons engaged in grazing pursuits to have anything to do with a cultivation-farm, or to grow more grain at their squatting stations than is necessary for the consumption of their own establishments.

There is no class of persons for whom Queensland would prove a more eligible field for emigration, than that of mere labourers, whether agricultural labourers or shepherds. There is a very considerable and yearly increasing demand for both of these classes of labourers already; but in the event of a large emigration of small capitalists, to embark in Australian farming, under the liberal encouragement now offered by the colonial legislature, the demand for agricultural labourers in particular would be increased perhaps a thousandfold, while a wide and promising field for all other departments of industry would be created simultaneously. Nor is it at all necessary that those who should emigrate to the new colony, to depend entirely on the labour of their hands, should either have been farm-labourers or shepherds at home; a common weaver can be transformed with the utmost facility into an Australian shepherd, and any person of industrious habits will very soon acquire all the knowledge and experience that are requisite for a farm-labourer. I should be sorry, however, to recommend any persons of this class of society to emigrate to Queensland under the idea of their remaining permanently, or indeed for any considerable time, in the class of mere servants or labourers. The peculiar recommendation of emigra-

tion to this description of persons is the facility with which the mere servant or labourer, if at all industrious and frugal, can be transformed into a proprietor of land and stock and an employer of labour. This process, indeed, has been constantly going on in Queensland, ever since the first settlement of the country as a mere district of New South Wales, and every part of it can exhibit numerous and highly gratifying instances of the brilliant success with which the efforts of persevering industry have thus been crowned.

There is a class of persons, however, of a still higher grade than any of those I have enumerated, for whom the cultivation of cotton and other tropical produce by means of European free labour in Queensland presents, I am confident, at this moment, the finest field for private enterprise that any British colony has ever afforded. I mean particularly persons who could carry out with them a capital of from two to ten thousand pounds respectively, and embark in the cultivation of cotton for exportation to England, in the more southern parts of Queensland, or as sugar planters on the Fitzroy River at Rockhampton. If a portion of the capital to be embarked in one or other of these fields of enterprise were to be employed in the first instance in carrying out to Queensland a number of well-selected farm labourers with their wives and children, to be employed in the particular branch of cultivation proposed, the capitalist would, under the Land Sales' Act of the colony, have a large tract of land allotted him of the first quality for the emigration he had thus effected. Of this land he could apportion out in small farms to the labourers as tenant-farmers, a larger or smaller extent according to circumstances, giving them the right to purchase at a certain fixed price within a specified period, and agreeing to take payment either in cotton in the seed, at the regular market price, or in sugar-canes or cane juice of the proper quality. The capitalist would thus be perfectly safe on the one hand, while the emigrant labourer on the other would have the strongest inducement to fulfil his contract, and to entitle himself, if a cotton planter, to the Government *bonus* on cotton-growing.

How many far less promising undertakings are embarked in every day by our enterprising fellow-countrymen, of the middle and higher classes of society, in all parts of the world, and in cli-

mates too the most unfavourable to European life. The sugar-planter, for instance, goes to the West Indies; the indigo-planter to Hindostan; the coffee-planter to Ceylon, and the cotton-planter to the southern states of North America. They go thither in great numbers, because the soil and climate of these countries respectively are all highly favourable to these particular forms of tropical and semi-tropical cultivation, although they are all extremely unfavourable to European life; and because there is plenty of labour, such as it is, to be had in all of them. But here is a country, I mean Queensland, in which any or all of these branches of cultivation can be pursued as successfully as in the countries I have enumerated; of which the climate, moreover, is as salubrious as any in the world, and in which the importation of any amount of European labour that the planter may carry out with him will be handsomely paid for by the State. Why, then, should the capitalist hesitate in such circumstances, when the conditions of success are all so greatly in his favour? Why should either Coolies or Chinese be sought for, to demoralise and ruin the country, when our own people, the hope of humanity, and as good labourers as any in the world, can be obtained in any number and on such favourable terms? Indeed, viewing the cultivation of cotton and other tropical productions by means of European free labour in Queensland in the light of a mere mercantile adventure, I know of no other enterprise that has so much to recommend it to any man of intelligence and energy, and possessed of the requisite amount of capital, independently altogether of the splendid results which it promises for the manufacturing industry of Britain and for the cause of humanity.

In the event of an extensive emigration of persons of the agricultural classes to Queensland, a great variety of other branches of business, besides agriculture, would there find a highly eligible field and be vigorously pursued, as soon as the circumstances of the country, or the views of enterprising individuals should direct the growing energies of the community into particular channels. The timber-trade, for instance, would receive an immediate impulse, both in the way of supplying an article of exportation, that would serve as dead-weight in the wool and cotton ships, and in the working up of that article in the various processes of ship-building, house-carpentry, agricul-

tural implements, and cabinet-making. Moreton Bay, as I have already observed, would present an attractive field for the establishment of a fishery, as also for that of a soap manufactory, while the sand of Moreton Island, being of the description required for the glasses of achromatic telescopes, would afford the requisite material for the manufacture of glass. The culture of indigo, of cotton, and of sugar, would call into existence the manufactures necessary for the preparation of the raw article for exportation, while a woollen-manufacture, to work up the coarse wool of the country into colonial tweed, could be established with perfect facility. In the mean time, the supply of coal and lime, both procurable at Ipswich, on the banks of a navigable river*, will doubtless be of incalculable advantage for the rapid development of the inexhaustible resources of the country. Nay, while this work is passing through the press, the discovery of copper ore in large quantities has been announced at Gladstone, Port Curtis, thereby realising the anticipations of Captain O'Connell, expressed in a former chapter of this work, and holding out the prospect of an additional source of ample remuneration for capital and labour. Simultaneously with this rapid development of the resources of the country, the demand for professional labour will rapidly increase; the schoolmaster will be required abroad, and the lawyer, the medical man and the minister of religion, will all find an ample field for their labour and an adequate reward for their services. In short, the whole framework of European society could be reproduced in all the settlements of Queensland in a period of time remarkably short, and with probably far greater facility than in any other part of the colonial empire of Britain.

* Excellent freestone for building is also procurable in the same neighbourhood, as also chalk; and at Mr. Coulson's station, twenty-five miles from Ipswich, towards the coast range, plumbago has been discovered.

CHAP. XI.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND ITS RESULTS IN QUEENSLAND.

Sir George Ferguson Bowen, the first Governor, arrived in Queensland, which was then proclaimed a British colony, on the 10th of December, 1859. For some time previous the colonists had been anticipating his Excellency's arrival with great eagerness, and his coming was accordingly hailed with general rejoicing. It is no part of my duty, however, to chronicle these manifestations of public feeling in their various details. The curious reader will find them recorded at length in the columns of the "Moreton Bay Courier."

The form of government for the new colony was to be precisely similar to that of the older colony of New South Wales, from which it had just been dissevered—viz. an Elective Assembly and a Nominee Upper House. There was one particular, indeed, in which the constitution of Queensland differed from that of New South Wales; for as the imperial arrangements for the separation of the Moreton Bay country, and its erection into a distinct colony, had been made previous to the passing of the Electoral Reform Act of New South Wales, it was decided by the judges that the new colony could only be established under the previously existing colonial constitution. This, however, was merely a question of time; for in all likelihood an Act similar to the Electoral Reform Act of New South Wales will be passed by the Parliament of Queensland during its present session.

It was earnestly desired, by all parties concerned, that the first parliament of Queensland should be constituted and assembled as speedily as possible; but in consequence of some technical difficulties, the writs for the election of members to serve in the Legislative Assembly could not be issued till the close of the month of April 1860, and the Parliament did not meet till June thereafter. The Legislative Assembly consists of twenty-six

members, and the first President of the Legislative Council or Upper Chamber was Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.

For a whole twelvemonth before the first meeting of the Parliament of Queensland there had been no end to the predictions of certain prophets of evil in the Parliament of New South Wales, that the whole scheme of a separate government for Queensland would prove an utter failure, and that the unhappy people whose interests had been compromised and sacrificed by certain visionary speculators, in separating them from the parent stock, would themselves very speedily come back to solicit readmission into the parental bosom. I had occasion to visit Queensland shortly after the opening of the new parliament; and being somewhat concerned to know whether these predictions were likely to be fulfilled, I embodied the result of my observations on what I saw and heard on the spot in the following letter to one of the Sydney daily papers:—

"TWO DAYS IN THE QUEENSLAND PARLIAMENT.

"*To the Editor of the Empire.*

"SIR,—When the prophets of evil in our House of Assembly were predicting night after night, a few months ago, that the fatal experiment of a separate government for this insignificant community would soon prove a miserable failure, and that the people of Queensland would shortly be coming back to us, weeping and wailing, praying us to govern them from Sydney, I maintained that there was a larger amount both of intelligence and general ability in matters of government in this colony, in proportion to its population, than there is in New South Wales, and that the truth of this statement would soon be exhibited in the result of the experiment that was then about to be made. Let the proceedings of the Queensland Parliament for these two days past bear witness to the soundness of my views in regard to their general ability for the important work of legislation, and the propriety of my anticipations in regard to their noble future.

"I must premise, however, by observing that they have managed most adroitly to form the Legislative Chambers out of the old Convict Barracks, which you will bear in mind were erected in the olden time with British money and not with ours; for cer-

tainly no part of our three or four millions of debt was incurred in the erection of public buildings or other improvements here. The Chambers are both plainly but neatly fitted up, commodious, and in every respect suited to the wants of the country.

"Without any pretensions to such eminent talents as unquestionably characterised our first Legislative Council, they have certainly, from anything I can either see or hear, got the right men in the right places here. The Premier, or Colonial Secretary*, is a first class-man, from one of the English universities, but without the slightest assumption or pretension of any kind. I would not say that he is either eloquent or impressive; but he is remarkably fluent, putting the right words in the right places, saying all that is requisite to elucidate his subject, but nothing more, and saying it in the shortest possible time; exhibiting a perfect acquaintance with anything he speaks about, calm and self-possessed, knowing how and when to yield when he cannot carry his point, and doing it with the best possible grace, so as to deprive an opponent of the vulgar triumph over an imaginary victory, such as is so frequently exhibited on the boards of our own political Theatre Royal in Macquarie Street.†

"Without mentioning particularly the other members of the Ministry—the Attorney-General and Treasurer—I would observe that both the Speaker (Mr. Elliott) and the Chairman of Committees (Mr. Macalister)—who were both members of our Legislative Assembly till that untoward event, Separation, sent them over the border—are remarkably well fitted for their respective places, and fill their respective chairs uncommonly well. And although there are no Burkes or Sheridans among the members generally, I am happy to say that there is no talking for talking's sake, no opposition for opposition's sake, no such factious bidding for office as have become perfect nuisances with us, and almost complete obstructions to the business of the country. I have seldom, indeed, heard so much plain common sense, delivered in plain, unassuming, and sometimes forcible, English, as I have heard these two days, in the same space of time, in any other deliberative body with which I have become acquainted. To the proof therefore:—

* The Hon. Robert G. W. Herbert, Esq.
† The Parliament House, Sydney, New South Wales.

"The House of Assembly meets on the first floor, up the broad stair of the old barracks; the Upper House, strangely enough, meets on the ground floor, as if they meant to enact the comedy of 'High Life below Stairs.' The hour of meeting for the former is three P.M., and for the latter, half-past four. They both commence with prayer, a practice which even the American Republicans observe, but which *our* legislature has uniformly repudiated, ever since I first moved in the matter, seventeen years ago. After some preliminary business had been gone through in the Assembly (which I am happy to observe—for it is right and proper to take notice of the manners and customs of one's betters, just to try to imitate them if one can—meets exactly at the hour), the Colonial Secretary, in a speech remarkably characterised by the qualities I have mentioned, moved the second reading of a bill for the establishment of grammar schools throughout this colony; which, I may observe, embodies a plan somewhat similar to the one I had sketched out in a series of resolutions, which was some time on the notice paper of *our* House of Assembly shortly before the late prorogation of Parliament. A short debate ensued, in which the principle of the bill was assented to most cordially on all sides, while a few short but sensible speeches were made, suggesting improvements, and stating objections to one or two of the details. In the course of his speech, the Colonial Secretary observed that the Sydney Grammar School had proved a failure; which he ascribed to the too high pitch and mediæval character of the education it gave. If he had imputed the failure rather to the expenditure of 29,000*l.* on the building, with an endowment of 1500*l.* a year (which he rightly thought excessive and unnecessary), and 18*l.* a year from each pupil or student notwithstanding, I should have been more inclined to join with him. At all events, the second reading of an admirable bill was agreed to by half-past four yesterday, when the house adjourned for the day, and I was in time for the meeting of the Upper House down stairs. How long should we have been, with our slow coach, about such a job? As long, I suppose, as a bullock dray would take with a load of flour from Barker's mills to Kiandra,—with perhaps an overturn, not of the dray, but of the ministry, in the mean time. To-day, after several other matters of minor importance, including the passing through committee of the Census

Bill, the Anti-State-aid Bill was also got safe through committee, after a debate of the character I have mentioned, of several hours. That matter, therefore, of transcendant importance, is now settled here and settled well. When shall we be able to follow these sensible people in New South Wales? Not, I fear, till the Greek kalends, which are a long way off.

"I was examined to-day before Captain O'Connell's Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the propriety of forming a settlement at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, as also of establishing an overland telegraphic line from Rockhampton to the head of that gulf, and a steam communication from Sydney and Queensland by Torres' Straits to Singapore. They are strongly in favour of this line here, but totally disinclined towards supporting a line to Panama, which they think is impracticable, and will prove a failure.

"In one word, separation has unquestionably created a soul under the ribs of death here, and I venture to predict that, if it has not the effect of stimulating our colonial legislature into something like vigorous action in the right direction, the example of our brethren in Queensland will very soon lead to other chapters in the great drama of separation, Messrs. Darvall, Piddington, and Martin*, notwithstanding. It is nowhere written in the Fates that there shall be no more separation; let those whom it concerns, therefore, beware of putting their heavy drag upon the wheels of the state carriage, as they have already done so often, so long, and so fatally, for their adopted country.

"I am, Sir, yours, &c.

"JOHN DUNMORE LANG."

"*Brisbane, 8th July*, 1860."

The following list of the Acts and Ordinances of the Parliament of Queensland, on some of which I shall make a few illustrative observations, will show the reader the amount of business transacted by that body during their first session, and their general fitness for the work assigned them.

* These gentlemen, who were all members of the late Parliament of New South Wales, had been always the most strongly opposed to the separation of the Moreton Bay country, and the loudest in their denunciations of the policy of that measure. Mr. Piddington is the only one of the three in the present Parliament, the other two having either been defeated, or withdrawn in time to save a defeat.

ACTS AND ORDINANCES OF QUEENSLAND, PASSED IN THE SESSION, NO. I., OF THE YEAR 1860, DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GEORGE FERGUSON BOWEN, G.C.M.G.

23° *Victoriæ.*

No. 1.—An Act to provide a suitable Quorum for the Legislative Assembly of Queensland. (Assented to, 11th June, 1860.)

24° *Victoriæ.*

No. 1.—An Act to indemnify the Collector and Officers of Customs in respect to the omitting to collect the Duty payable upon Gold in the Colony of Queensland, and to repeal an Act of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, intituled "An Act for granting a Duty upon Gold." (Assented to, 10th July, 1860.)

2.—An Act to limit the Number of Persons holding Office under the Crown, who, under the Constitution Act, 17 Vic., No. 41, may be declared capable of being elected Members of the Legislative Assembly. (Assented to, 17th July, 1860.)

3.—An Act to discontinue Grants from the Revenue in Aid of Religion. (Assented to, 7th August, 1860.)

4.—An Act to appoint Commissioners for the Adjustment of Accounts with the Colony of New South Wales. (Assented to, 25th August, 1860.)

5.—An Act for taking an Account of the Population in 1861. (Assented to, 25th August, 1860.)

6.—An Act to provide for Primary Education in Queensland. (Assented to, 7th September, 1860.)

7.—An Act to provide for the Establishment of Grammar Schools in Queensland. (Assented to, 7th September, 1860.)

8.—An Act to authorise the Appropriation out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Queensland of certain Sums to make good the Supplies granted for the Service of the Year 1860. (Assented to, 11th September, 1860.)

9.—An Act to abolish the Collection of Electoral Lists. (Assented to, 11th September, 1860.)

10.—An Act to give a Lien on Wool, and to make Mortgages of Sheep, Cattle, and Horses. (Assented to, 11th September, 1860.)

No. 11.—An Act for regulating the Occupation of Unoccupied Crown Lands in the Unsettled Districts. (Assented to, 17th September, 1860.)

12.—An Act to regulate the Occupation of Land applied for by Tender. (Assented to, 17th September, 1860.)

13.—An Act for the Prevention of Scab and other Diseases in Sheep. (Assented to, 17th September, 1860.)

14.—An Act to regulate the Exportation of Gunpowder and Warlike Stores from the Colony of Queensland. (Assented to, 17th September, 1860.)

15.—An Act to provide for the Alienation of Crown Lands. (Assented to, 17th September, 1860.)

16.—An Act to provide for the leasing of Crown Lands previously occupied. (Assented to, 17th September, 1860.)

17.—An Act to authorise the Appropriation out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Queensland of certain Sums to make good the Supplies granted for the Service of the Year 1860-1. (Assented to, 18th September, 1860.)

The first of these Acts and Ordinances that requires to be noticed is the Act to discontinue grants from the revenue in aid of religion. Fortunately this very important question presented itself to the legislature of Queensland in a very simple form. The whole burden upon the revenue, under the previously existing system of New South Wales, for the salaries of ministers of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan Methodist communions, did not exceed 750*l.* a year; and while all were willing that the recipients of that amount should retain the salaries they were respectively receiving under the previous system during their lives, the voice of the public strongly demanded the entire discontinuance of state support for religion for the future. A preliminary motion had been made by one of the members who advocated the system of state support, to the effect that the sum appropriated for distribution among the clergy of the different communions should be increased to 4000*l.* a year; but this motion having been lost by a large majority, the Government having thus felt the pulse of the Assembly, made a virtue of necessity, and introduced the bill, which was passed as above almost without opposition, as a Government measure.

There is certainly no measure that could have been passed by the new Parliament that will tend more strongly to the peace and harmony of the colony than this; for so long as the state support system exists in any of the Australian colonies, it will always prove a bone of contention; and at all general elections a comparatively small but very active section of the community will uniformly put forward candidates for the suffrages of the people, not because they consider they are either fit or proper persons to legislate for the country, but because they will advocate state support for religion.

As to the interests of religion being likely to suffer from the withdrawal of all state support for religion, either in the colony of Queensland or in the Australian colonies generally, I have no fears whatever on the subject. On the contrary, I have every reason to believe, that when the period of transition is fairly passed, and the new system of supporting the public dispensation of the ordinances of religion comes into general operation, all the existing communions will feel the benefit of the change, while religion, in its purest forms, will have free course and be glorified. The Government were anxious to retain the power, which was still left them in the Act to discontinue grants *from the revenue* in aid of religion, to give grants of land for ecclesiastical purposes,—for the erection of places of worship and ministers' dwellings; but as it was seen and felt that this power would give rise to the charge, or at least the suspicion, of favouritism, and occasion jealousies and heartburnings in the community, it was very judiciously taken away. There is therefore a fair field, and no favour from the state, for all denominations in Queensland. The Anglican bishop (Dr. Tuffnell) arrived in the colony with seven clergymen of the Church of England, very shortly after this virtual revolution, at which he was very much displeased, had been effected; but as the episcopalians are both the most numerous and the wealthiest portion of the community, it would be a libel upon them to allege that they would either be unable or unwilling to support the ordinances of religion in their own denomination. In the Presbyterian Church the change will be one of the most salutary description. In all the other Australian colonies the question of state support for religion has hitherto been an apple of discord in that communion; producing division and distraction,

and breaking up the body, which ought to be *simplex et unum*, into fragmentary and hostile sections. In Queensland, I have reason to believe, from the expressed sentiments of the ministers on the spot, the Presbyterian Church will begin fair, repudiating those minute distinctions that prevail elsewhere, and setting itself in right earnest to seek the welfare and advancement of the people. It is unnecessary to say anything here in regard to the bearings of this question, either on the Romish or on the Wesleyan communions, both of which are unaccustomed to state support at home; except perhaps in the matter of the Maynooth Grant and the Privy Council scheme of Education, which, as far as I can see, is certainly an *alter idem* of the system which the Parliament of Queensland has just abolished.

The Acts to provide for primary education and for the establishment of grammar schools in Queensland, will be found in Appendix G., from which the reader will see for himself how the transcendently important question of education is to be dealt with in that colony. For primary education, a Board, to be presided over by a minister of the Crown, is to be incorporated, to carry out a system of national education, similar to the one established in New South Wales; with a provision, however, for the assistance of schools under denominational management, and of which the property may not be vested in the Board. For the establishment of grammar schools it is enacted that, in the event of not less than 1000*l.* being raised in any locality for the establishment of such a school, the Government shall grant for the purpose double that amount; and that when fees for three years shall have been pledged to an amount not less than 250*l.* per annum, the Government shall grant for the general support of the school 500*l.* a year. These, I have no hesitation in saying, are admirable arrangements, and they will no doubt ensure the advancement, not merely of primary education, but of education of a much higher order, throughout the colony. Under these arrangements, there will be a primary school, partially endowed by the state, for the common branches of an English education, in every small centre of population throughout the territory; and in every town with a population of from 2000 to 4000 souls there will, in due time, be a grammar school for superior education, under popular management, and much better endowed than nine-tenths of the grammar

schools of Scotland. There might, doubtless, be improvements suggested in both of the Acts; but where there is so much that is praiseworthy, it would be wrong to find fault. The common sense and good feeling of the country will soon rectify any errors or mistakes that experience may discover.

I deem it unnecessary to say anything further on the Act for regulating the occupation of unoccupied crown lands in the unsettled districts, or the Act to regulate the occupation of land applied for by tender, or the Act to provide for the leasing of crown lands previously occupied,—the first of which will be found in Appendix D. These Acts refer to the squatting system of the colony, and those who have any intention to embark in that pursuit will find all the information they will require in the Appendix.

But the Act to provide for the alienation of crown lands—implying, as it does, an entire and salutary revolution in the land system of the Australian colonies, and inaugurating a new era of colonial progress—deserves something more than a mere passing notice. Of that Act the reader will find a copy in Appendix E. The second reading of the bill on which it was founded was moved by the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, in the following speech:—

"The COLONIAL SECRETARY, in moving the second reading of this bill, said that he would confine himself to the leading features of the measure, which were to be found in those clauses dealing with the upset price of land, and the power vested in the executive of proclaiming agricultural reserves, and the provisions for the encouragement of immigration. He would state, at the outset, that in framing this measure the government had been largely indebted to the experience of other colonies, of whose land regulations many portions, altered and modified to better suit them to the circumstances of this colony, had been incorporated in the present measure. He was of opinion that in dealing with this matter it was impossible to separate the subject of the sale of crown lands from the subject of immigration; they must go hand in hand. The chief object to be kept in view by the framers of any land bill was, he conceived, the settlement of the country by an eligible population. Any land bill, therefore, should be framed on a sufficiently liberal basis to induce this desirable class of persons to come and settle on the land. Now it had been maintained by a large number of people that such an inducement was im-

possible without a reduction in the price at which the fee simple of lands was at present granted. He was not of this opinion, taking as he did into consideration the state and direction of emigration in the mother-country, and the present condition of the labour market in the other colonies. The impetus afforded to emigration by the gold discoveries had to a great extent ceased, and the stream of emigration now from the United Kingdom, and especially from Ireland, was in the direction of Canada and the United States, this emigration consisting chiefly of the class of small agriculturists. Here, however, in the Australian colonies, there was a large population of an unsettled character, who had been attracted by the gold discoveries, and who fluctuated from one colony to another, and from one part of the colony to another, this fluctuation being caused by the discovery of any new gold-field. At present there was an inclination on the part of a large number of persons in Victoria to go to Kiandra. The present object of the Victorian Government was to fix this population by the settlement of the land question; but this settlement at present still appeared distant in that colony, and many persons there, and also in New South Wales, were looking towards Queensland with a view of coming here, should we succeed in settling the land question on a liberal and permanent basis. In Victoria the cry amongst the extreme class or stump orators had not been so much for a reduction in the price of land as for the settlement of the question in such a manner that plenty of good land should be within reach of all who wished to invest, upon which they might enter without delay. The legislature there had attempted to pass a good many land bills, but all bills of this nature appeared peculiarly liable to accident. Considering then, in the first place, the subject of emigration, the experience of the past showed us that in the other colonies a system of paid emigration had failed. It had been found that the emigrants imported into the different colonies at the expense of the various Governments, all went to Victoria soon after landing, and thus the colonies which imported them lost the benefit of their labour. The superiority of the gold-fields of that colony attracted this class of emigrants. The result of this circumstance had been that now New South Wales and South Australia had stopped the supplies which they had hitherto annually voted for immigration, and this is the only

colony which at present pays for the introduction of emigrants. We have voted 5000*l.* for this purpose, but it has generally been considered that the system is not a good one. Now, looking at this question from an English point of view, a man in England desirous of emigrating, finds that if he cannot pay his passage he cannot get to Queensland at all; should he, however, be desirous of emigrating, and in a position to pay his passage, he has to take many matters into consideration before he decides upon the locality to which he will emigrate. One point to be considered is distance, and he knows that Canada and the United States are within nine days' sail; Australia, on the contrary, cannot be reached in less time than three months; hence many of the emigrating agricultural population of the mother-country on this account have insuperable objections to emigrating to Australia. He stated this fact from his own personal experience at home. It had been said, that if we reduced the price of land we should be able to compete with America. He believed that if the price of land in Queensland were reduced to-morrow on a par with that of land in Canada, we should not be able to entice an equal number of emigrants with the latter colony. To compete with that colony we must do more than reduce the price of land; we must give the emigrants free grants of land and pay their passage. The mere reduction of the price of land to 5*s.* an acre would be quite ineffectual to enable us to divert the stream of emigration from America to these colonies. The advocates of 5*s.* an acre may be divided into three classes: 1st,—Those who believe that by the reduction we should be enabled to enter into competition with the colonies referred to; 2d,—Those who believe that by reducing the price of land capitalists would be enabled to buy up large tracts, which they would let in smaller sections to the cultivator, and that thus a resident gentry would be created, and a system of landlord and tenant come into force; and, 3d,—That class of speculators who advocate this reduction from the most odious of all motives, viz., because they would thereby be enabled to make a good deal of money by land-jobbing at the expense both of the Government and the actual cultivator of the soil. The futility of reducing the price of land with the hope of carrying out the views of the first class of people he (Mr. H.) had already proved; of the interested motives of the third class of persons referred to all had an equal

abhorrence, and he thought the objects aimed at by the second class of persons impracticable and undesirable. We had been told that we possessed in this colony 640,000,000 acres of land, but we must remember that but a very small fraction of this land is worth even one shilling an acre. Reference also has, in the discussion of this question, been made to New Zealand. Now New Zealand had progressed steadily and well under the 1*l.* an acre system, but when the gold-diggings broke out, seeing that the population were being carried off, Sir George Grey had thought it necessary to reduce the price of land there to ten shillings for good land and five shillings for bad land. The immediate effect of this had been that a scramble ensued, and a large portion of the land became a source of profit neither to the Government nor to the immediate occupier, but to the intermediate speculator who could afford to buy the land at once from the Government and hold it for a space of time until he had an opportunity of selling it to the *bona fide* occupier. (The honourable member here quoted from a work on New Zealand in support of the motion.) At present, in spite of the cheap land, the Government of New Zealand were apprehensive that many persons would leave for Kiandra. He would also refer the advocates of cheap land to Tasmania, where a total want of progress had been observable. In Canada, also, there had been much land sharkism under the cheap land system, as people at first were enticed by the cheapness of land, and borrowed money to invest in land, and thus a fallacious idea of the financial resources of the colony was induced, which subsequently was the cause of much evil. He thought that if we immediately reduced the price of land in the colony to five shillings an acre, the value of existing securities on landed property would be shaken and diminished in many cases 75 per cent.; we should not be enabled to arrive at any approximation to our exact revenue, a large proportion of which was derived from land sales; and from this sudden reduction a considerable convulsion of the monetary interests throughout the colony would ensue. The great object of any land bill, he considered, should be to provide settlement on the land on easy terms. He would ask honourable members to look at the measure before the House, and say whether it would not induce emigration. A man who purchases forty acres can occupy under lease an additional hundred and

twenty acres, and the man who pays 20*l.* for twenty acres, can take up under lease at a nominal rent and hold pre-emptive right over sixty additional acres. Thus in the course of three years a man would pay about 38*l.* for the use of eighty acres of land, twenty of which would be his own property, and the remaining sixty of which he would have the privilege of purchasing at the upset price at the termination of the three years. The question of the price of land had been fixed by a committee, composed of many eminent men, amongst whom were Lord Derby, Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Molesworth (one of the most liberal politicians of his day), and Earl Grey. (The honourable member here quoted from the report of the committee in question, to show that in fixing the price of land we should consider not only the immediate occupants of the colony, but also the future occupants.) Clauses 10 and 11 of the bill, providing for agricultural reserves, had been regarded with apprehension by those who desired to enter upon agricultural pursuits, as it was thought that too much power was thrown into the hands of the Government, who might, if inimical to the development of agricultural interests, make delays in proclaiming these reserves, or else select the worst land for them. This objection, he thought, was not of much weight, as the proceedings of the Executive were under the control of the House, and as the people, if they wanted land, would have it: the representatives of the people in the House would have it in their power to prevent any such abuse of this clause. Moreover, this clause does not confer more power on the Government than they already possess by the orders of Council. The immigration clause of the bill, as would be seen, extended its benefits to all Europeans. Half of the land order would be given immediately upon the arrival of the immigrant; the other half after he had resided here for two years. This would protect us from people coming here getting the whole benefits of their land orders, and then going to another colony. He thought a land order to the amount of 15*l.* would be enough. This would be about the cost of a man's passage out, and he thought that those land orders should be restricted within as narrow a range as possible, as long as they were sufficient to induce people to come out here. With regard to the clause relating to cotton, the Government would not bind themselves to the details of this clause, but would have

no objections to alter the weight of the bale, for which the bonus should be granted. Before concluding, he would revert for one moment to the public meeting which had been held in that city. He doubted much whether that meeting could be considered as an expression of the public opinion of the town, much less of the colony. He had also heard that an attempt would be made to postpone the settlement of the land question until next year. To this he most strenuously objected. Whether this bill pass or no the question should be settled at once. People's minds were agitated and in doubt about the matter, and while the present state of uncertainty existed, no one would invest in land. The consequence would be that our revenue from this source would be stopped. Moreover, we have an opportunity of settling the matter before either New South Wales or Victoria, and consequently if it were settled, we should get the best of the immigration. He was most anxious to see this question settled at once. It had been stated that the Government intended to resign, should this bill be rejected; but there was no foundation for this report, as the Government had not yet determined upon the course they would pursue in the event of the bill's rejection. If, however, the Government felt that they had lost the confidence of the House, they would frankly come down and announce the tender of their resignations. Should they pass over to the other side of the House, they would then extend to honourable members opposite that indulgence and courtesy which they had always received."

Certain parties both in Queensland and in New South Wales, and in particular the editor of the "Sydney Empire," being disposed to carp at the bill which had thus been introduced in Queensland, and especially at the proposed retention of the minimum price of land at a pound an acre, I addressed the following letter on the subject to the editor of that paper :—

"THE QUEENSLAND LAND BILL.

"*To the Editor of the Empire.*

"SIR,—I think you have done anything but justice, in your leader of this day, to the Queensland Government and their land bill. For my own part, although not quite satisfied with some of the details of the measure, which I trust will be altered and amended in committee, I entirely approve of its general prin-

ciples. These, I conceive, are the maintenance of the minimum price of a pound an acre on the one hand, and the guarantee of an equivalent in land to the immigrant from the mother-country, to the cost of his passage out, on the other. There are other matters of detail, to which I shall allude presently, but these are unquestionably the main principles of the bill.

"In expressing my approval of the maintenance of the minimum price of land at a pound an acre for the northern districts —for these are the only ones to be taken into consideration at present—I shall scarcely, I presume, be accused in any quarter of playing into the hands of the squatters; these gentlemen having long been in the habit of regarding me, whether rightly or wrongly I shall not take the trouble to inquire, as their bitter enemy. I merely endeavour, in connection with this question, to satisfy myself, as to what minimum price it is necessary to fix upon the waste lands to prevent monopoly on the one hand, and to promote the speedy and effectual settlement of the country on the other. Now I am quite satisfied that, in view of both of these objects, the Government of Queensland have done quite right in fixing the minimum price at a pound an acre. If land fit for agriculture, that is land of good quality on the banks of navigable rivers, or near a market—if such land is worth anything at all, it is at least worth that amount; and to sell it for less would only be to encourage the land speculator and monopolist to purchase large tracts of eligible land at the lower minimum price of, say five shillings an acre, in order to retain it in its natural state, till it should perhaps be worth as many pounds. And there would be nothing else necessary to render it worth this amount than the influx of population and the progress of settlement. During the past week I was shown portions of land on the Clarence River, near Grafton, which were purchased about three years ago at the minimum price of 2*l.* an acre, which have since been sold at 40*l.* And Mr. Lardner, the Mayor of Grafton, who has perhaps had more experience in connection with the land sales of that district than any other person whatever, assured me that he had never heard any complaints from the purchasers of land on the Clarence River, on the ground of the minimum price being too high; the only ground of complaint being the difficulty, if not impossibility, under the arrangements

hitherto subsisting, of getting land at all, or at any price. So much then, for the establishment of a sufficient price to defray the cost of survey, and to prevent, in great measure, land speculation and monopoly.

"The other object of the Queensland ministry in fixing the minimum price of land at a pound an acre, was to promote the settlement of the land in the speediest and most effectual manner by immigration from Europe. That colony is very differently situated from New South Wales in this particular respect. There is *there* only a mere handful of people, thinly scattered over a vast territory, much of which is of very superior capabilities; and the grand question of the country is how to employ, in the most effectual manner, the means which the waste lands afford for increasing the population at the smallest possible cost to the state. Now, I am quite satisfied, from my own experience, which has not been inconsiderable in the matter of immigration, that the Queensland ministry have struck the right nail on the head by retaining the minimum price of a pound an acre, and by giving the immigrant from the old country an equivalent in land at that rate for the cost of his passage out. The Queensland ministry propose to give 30*l.*, or thirty acres of land at that price, as such equivalent, viz., one half on the arrival of the immigrant, and the other on condition of his remaining in the country two years. I confess I would have been satisfied with 20*l.*, or twenty acres of land, as such equivalent in all cases; but whether the 20*l.* or the 30*l.* rate is adopted, there can be no doubt whatever that the tidings of such an arrangement will very speedily issue in a very large amount of immigration of the best possible description from the United Kingdom into Queensland.

"Immigrants arriving from the mother-country with the claims for land which this arrangement will give them, and immigrant farmers from the other colonies intending to settle on the land, are to be allowed free selection at the minimum price, without auction, within certain agricultural reserves, to be set apart for the purpose from time to time by the Government. You carp at and object to this arrangement, which I confess I consider an admirable one for the object in view, because the Government are to be invested with the power to fix these agricultural areas when and where they please; but you forget that government

in Queensland means responsible government, and that if that government play false with the people, the latter will very soon come to know the reason why. They will oblige the Government to make the reserves in localities the best suited, both in soil and situation, for agricultural settlements; and if the Government should refuse to do so, they will only have to turn them out and get other and better men in their places.

"But the squatters, you apprehend, will bring their evil influence to bear upon the Government, so as to render this arrangement virtually valueless to the immigrant. I have no fear of anything of the kind. Only let the noble arrangement which the Queensland land bill provides for the immigration and settlement of a numerous, industrious, and virtuous population, have a few years' trial—and a few years are a mere nothing in the history of a country—and I am confident there will be such an influx of population of the right kind into that colony, that the squatters will very soon form but a very insignificant section of the general population.

"You have not alluded to the *bonus* of 10*l.* which the Queensland Government propose to give for every bale of Sea Island cotton of three hundred pounds, to stimulate the production of that most important article of agricultural produce; as I conceive it is for all the northern settlements along this coast both within and beyond the northern boundary of Queensland. But I cannot help alluding to the rich and rare idea of Mr. Raff, one of the members for Brisbane, who thinks that this premium should be awarded, not to the cultivator but to the exporter of the cotton. Of course Mr. Raff expects to be a large exporter of the article when it is grown in quantity, as it will doubtless be very soon under the very liberal encouragement of a premium of eightpence a pound. Surely the suggestion of such a measure as this *bonus* implies could never have come from the squatters.

"In short, I regard the Queensland land bill as an admirable measure, and I only hope that after being somewhat amended in committee, in some of its details, it will be passed forthwith and come into beneficial operation, as I have no doubt it will, in the shortest possible period in the new colony.

"I am, Sir, yours, &c.

"*Sydney, 7th September*, 1860." "JOHN DUNMORE LANG."

It will be abundantly evident to the reader, from these notices and statements, that popular and responsible government has hitherto been a great success, and no failure, in Queensland. Where is there a single instance, in the whole history of British colonisation, of any colonial legislature passing so many acts of the highest importance and of such incalculable value to the community, and effecting so many and such sweeping reforms, during its first session? The case is altogether unparalleled in the annals of the empire.

I shall conclude this chapter with an abstract of a parliamentary document entitled, "Estimates of the probable Ways and Means and Expenditure of the Government of Queensland for the year 1861."

ESTIMATES.—1861.

PROBABLE WAYS AND MEANS.

Customs	£70,000.
Land revenue:—	
Proceeds of land sales	65,000
Rents of lands	15,000
Assessment	30,000
Postage	4,500
Licences	3,000
Fees of office	1,500
Fines and forfeitures	300
Rents	300
Pilotage, harbour dues, and fees (22 Vic. No. 4)	300
Miscellaneous receipts	2,000
Special receipts	300
	182,200
Apparent excess of expenditure over revenue	15,463
	£197,663

PROBABLE EXPENDITURE.

No. 1.—Schedules	£7,650
No. 2.—Executive and legislative	6,776
No. 3.—Colonial Secretary	71,698
No. 4.—Administration of justice	9,561
No. 5.—Colonial Treasurer	27,547
No. 6.—Department for Public Lands and Works	73,431
No. 7.—Auditor-General	1,000
	£197,663

SCHEDULES ANNEXED TO THE ORDER IN COUNCIL OF 9TH JUNE, 1859.

SCHEDULE A.

His Excellency the Governor (provided by Civil List and Colonial Act)	£4,000
	£4,000

SCHEDULE B.

The Private Secretary (provided by Civil List) .	£300
Colonial Secretary (provided by Civil List) . .	700
Colonial Treasurer (provided by Civil List) . .	700
Judge (provided by Civil List)	1,200
	£2,900

SCHEDULE C.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Stipends of Ministers of Religion, secured by Colonial Act, so long as they reside and officiate in Queensland.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The Rev. J. Moseley	£100
The Rev. L. H. Rumsey	100
The Rev. B. Glennie	100.

CHURCH OF ROME.

The Very Rev. Dean Rigney	150
The Rev. W. McGinty	150

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The Rev. Dr. Nelson	150
	£750

EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE.

SUMMARY.

	Required for 1861.
His Excellency the Governor	£400
Executive Council	640
Legislative Council	2,150
Legislative Assembly	2,686
Short-hand Writers and Library for both Houses .	900
	£6,776

COLONIAL SECRETARY.

SUMMARY.

	Required for 1861.
Colonial Secretary	£1,635
Registrar-General	780
Education	10,000
Immigration	6,000
Immigration Department	855
Police:	
Metropolitan	4,370
Country Districts	14,589
General Services	200
Native Police	13,916
Lunatic Asylum	783
Meteorological Observers	120
Health Officer	100
Vaccinator	50
Scab Inspectors	250
Charitable Allowances	1,300
Grants in aid of Public Institutions	800
Aborigines	1,000
Queensland Volunteers	250
Miscellaneous Services	11,700
Government Printing	3,000
	£71,698

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

SUMMARY.

	Required for 1861.
His Honour the Judge (provided for in Schedule)	
Law Officers of the Crown	£1,905
Supreme Court	2,441
Sheriff	1,530
Brisbane Gaol	3,415
Coroners	270
	£9,561

COLONIAL TREASURER.

SUMMARY.

DEPARTMENTS AND SERVICES.

	Required for 1861.
Treasury	£1,480
Customs:	
Brisbane	3,253
Wide Bay	1,144
Port Curtis	808
Rockhampton	993

Towards meeting the expense of a Bonded Store at Ipswich	£535
General Post-office	2,631
Conveyance of Mails	12,470
Harbours, &c.	
Harbour-Master, Cape Moreton	2,383
Harbour of Wide Bay	250
Light House, Cape Moreton	912
Harbour-Master, Fitzroy River	688
Total	£27,547

DEPARTMENT FOR PUBLIC LANDS AND WORKS.

SUMMARY.

	Required for 1861.
Secretary for Public Lands and Works	£1,400
Survey of lands	19,824
Occupation of lands	4,285
Sale of lands	2,300
Botanical gardens	1,000
Reserves	600
Government domain	300
Public works:	
Engineer of Roads Department	2,140
Colonial Architect	1,990
Roads Construction and Maintenance, Northern	3,500
do. do. Western	18,942
Bridges do. do.	8,500
Public works and buildings, &c.	8,650
	£73,431

AUDITOR-GENERAL.

SUMMARY.

	Required for 1861.
Auditor-General	£1,000

CHAP. XII.

THE ABORIGINES.

THE existence and distribution of the Papuan Negro or Black Race of the South-eastern hemisphere, is one of the most mysterious facts in the history of man. Most people are aware that the aborigines of Australia are of a black colour, and bear some resemblance to the African negro; but very few comparatively are aware of the vast extent of the earth's surface which this ancient and singular race have roamed over from time immemorial, and of which they have unquestionably been the aboriginal inhabitants. Long before European navigators had discovered New Holland and Van Dieman's Land, in the early part of the 17th century, they had occupied, and parcelled out among their wandering tribes, the whole extent of these vast regions, which are nearly as large as all Europe.* They are still the only inhabitants of the large islands of New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland and New Caledonia; of the Mallicollo Islands, or New Hebrides, as well as of many of the other islands of the Western Pacific, both northward and southward of the Equator, and of the Indian Archipelago. In many of these islands indeed they have been subdued and extirpated by the fairer race from the westward; but in some, of larger size, as in Sumatra, Borneo, Timor, and Java, they have merely been driven to the mountains, while in others, as in the Fiji and Navigators' Islands, they have gradually mingled with the intruders, and given rise to an intermediate race. They still inhabit exclusively the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, and small remnants of their widely-scattered race are to be found even in the Island of Formosa on

* M. Freycinet, in his "Voyage aux Terres Australes," page 107, estimates the superficial extent of Australia at 384,375, and that of Europe at 501,875 French leagues.

the coast of China, and in the mountains of Continental India. Surely then the origin and history of a race that has thus occupied, at one time exclusively, a far larger extent of the earth's surface than that of the ancient Roman Empire in its greatest glory, well deserves the attentive consideration of the philosopher and the divine.

It has generally been taken for granted that the Papuan race, judging of it from the specimens seen by navigators on the coasts of Australia and Van Dieman's Land, is not only at the very bottom of the scale of humanity, but that no other portion of the human race has ever fallen so low; and this gratuitous supposition has not unfrequently been put forward by writers unfriendly to Revelation, to insinuate the belief that this abject race cannot possibly be of that "one blood" of which, we are divinely informed, "God hath made all men everywhere, for to dwell upon all the face of the earth." For instance, in his "History of the Indian Archipelago," Mr. Crawford writes as follows:—

"The east insular negro is a distinct variety of the human species, and evidently a very inferior one. Their puny stature and feeble frames are not to be ascribed to the poverty of their food or the hardships of their condition; for the lank-haired race, living under circumstances equally precarious, have vigorous constitutions. Some islands they enjoy exclusively to themselves, yet they have in no instance risen above the most abject state of barbarism. Wherever they are encountered by the fairer races, they are hunted down, like the wild animals of the forest, and driven to the mountains or fastnesses, incapable of resistance."*

Now I have no hesitation in asserting that this picture, however applicable to the circumstances of the black race in the Indian Archipelago, is, as a picture of the Papuan race generally, unwarranted by facts, and greatly overcharged. The circumstances in which the miserable remnant of the Papuan race is found in the Archipelago—hunted down, like the wild animals of the forest, by a superior and more powerful race—are quite sufficient to account for their "puny stature and feeble frames," as well as for their abject condition in the social scale. The comparative rigour of the climate and the scantiness of the food,

* Crawford's History Ind. Archipelago, vol. i. p. 24.

from the general sterility of the soil, have produced a somewhat similar effect on the aborigines of Australia and Van Dieman's Land in those parts of these countries that were first visited by Europeans. But Dr. Reinold Forster, the companion of Captain Cook in his last voyage round the world, does not appear to have observed any intellectual inferiority on the part of the Papuan islanders of the Western Pacific, as compared with the fairer race of the more easterly islands. According to that able and accurate observer, there was the same variety of form and feature and physical development among the former of these races, as is observable in other portions of the human family; and while I am confident that the sequel of this chapter will demonstrate that the idea of a radical inferiority of intellectual power in the Papuan race is gratuitous and unwarranted, I can testify from my own observation that, in regard even to physical development, the same variety as Dr. Forster observed among the Papuan Islanders of the Western Pacific, obtains even among the aborigines of Australia, whose identity of race and origin has never been disputed: for the natives of Queensland, generally,—tall, strong, athletic, able-bodied men, as they are,—are as different as possible from the lean, lank, bony figures that are found on some other parts of the coast, and in the remote interior.

It is stated indeed by Count Strzelecki, a distinguished Polish traveller, who published a work of great merit about fifteen or twenty years ago, on the physical character of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, that "throughout New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, the external organisation of the aborigines bears the stamp of *different families*; with, again, such variations as the nature of the climate, combined with other conditions of life, would naturally impress upon the human frame."*

If Count Strzelecki means by the somewhat ambiguous phrase "different families," that the aborigines of all parts of Australia, including those of Van Dieman's Land, do not exhibit the marks of a common origin, I must say that it is not the only instance in his otherwise highly meritorious work in which he has leaped somewhat hastily to his conclusions. There are, doubtless, the same minute differences observable in the physical character and

* Strzelecki on the Physical Character of New South Wales, p. 334.

development of the different portions of the Papuan race, as there are in any of the other great divisions of the human family; but there is nothing that I am aware of to militate against the idea that the entire aboriginal population of Australia is sprung from the same common stock,—that "the rude forefathers of the race," whithersoever they came from, arrived originally in the Great South Land by the same canoe. After doing the Australian man, however, the justice to state that, on a "close examination of his cranium, instead of peculiarities, strong analogies were found to the skulls of white men, and that in many instances it was even remarked that THE FACIAL ANGLE OF THE WHITE WAS MORE ACUTE THAN IN THE SKULLS OF THE ABORIGINES," the Polish traveller sums up his account of the physical characteristics of the Australian Papuan in the following language, which certainly stands in remarkable contrast with Mr. Crawford's description of his unfortunate congener of the Indian Archipelago.

"Notwithstanding a partial inferiority of shape in some of the details, the native of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land possesses, on the whole, a well-proportioned frame. His limbs, less fleshy or massive than those of a well-formed African, exhibit all the symmetry and peculiarly well-defined muscular development and well-knit articulations and roundness which characterise the negro; hence, compared with the latter, he is swifter in his movements, and in his gait more graceful. His agility, adroitness, and flexibility when running, climbing, or stalking his prey, are more fully displayed; and when beheld in the posture of striking, or throwing his spear, his attitude leaves nothing to be desired in point of manly grace. In his physical appearance, nevertheless, he does not exhibit any features by which his race could be classed or identified with any of the generally known families of mankind." *

I question, also, whether there is any portion of the Papuan race in a more abject and degraded condition than that in which Forster found the Pesserais, as he calls them, or American Indians of Tierra del Fuego. "To the south of the straits of Magalhaens, or Tierra del Fuego, are a tribe of people apparently much debased or degenerated from those nations which live on

* Strzelecki, p. 336.

the continent. We found them to be a short, squat race, with large heads; their colour yellowish brown, the features harsh, the face broad, the cheek-bones high and prominent, the nose flat, the nostrils and mouth large, and the whole countenance without meaning. The hair is black and straight, hanging about the face in a shocking manner; their beards thin and cut short. All the upper part of the body is stout; the shoulders and chest broad; the belly straight but not prominent. The feet are by no means proportioned to the upper parts; for the thighs are thin and lean, the legs bent, the knees large, and the toes turned inwards. They are absolutely naked, and have only a small piece of seal-skin hanging down and covering part of their backs. Their women are much of the same features, colour, and form as the men, and have generally long hanging breasts, and, besides the seal-skin on their backs, a small patch of the skin of a bird or seal in front. All have a countenance announcing nothing but their wretchedness. They seem to be good-natured, friendly, and harmless, but remarkably stupid, being incapable of understanding any of our signs, which, however, were very intelligible to the nations of the South Seas. They stank immoderately of train-oil, so that we might smell them at a distance, and in the finest days they were shivering with cold. *Human nature appeared no where in so debased and wretched a condition as with these miserable, forlorn, and stupid creatures.*" *

But the wretched inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego are not the only portion of the Indo-American race that has reached the same low, and apparently hopeless, position in the social scale, as the aborigines of Australia, or their congeners of the Papuan race, in the Indian Archipelago. The whole of the aboriginal population of the Brazils appears, on the testimony of Dr. Von Martius, a highly-accomplished Bavarian traveller in that country, to be in precisely the same social condition; insomuch that the eloquent description which that traveller has given of this large portion of the Indo-American race might, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied, in

* Observations made during a voyage round the world, &c. by John Reinold Forster, LL.D. London, 1778. P. 250. This is the best and, as yet, the latest account we have had of the black race of the Western Pacific. That race has hitherto attracted comparatively no attention whatever. Many volumes have in the meantime been published on the fairer, or as it is usually styled, by way of distinction, the Polynesian race.

almost every particular, to the aborigines of Australia. In the one case, as well as in the other, there is the singular moral phenomenon, of "a thinly scattered population of aboriginal natives" occupying a vast extent of territory, and "agreeing in bodily make, temperament, dispositions, manners, customs, and modes of living," but presenting "a truly astonishing discordance of languages." In both cases there is the same "disruption of society into innumerable fragments, each animated with a feeling of distrust, or of positive hatred and hostility towards every other." In both cases there is the same general, if not universal, prevalence of cannibalism; although, in the case of the aborigines of Australia, it occurs in circumstances that invest the horrid practice with an interest which almost redeems its character, and which it certainly cannot claim in that of the Indo-Americans. In both cases there are the same unequivocal evidences of the extreme antiquity of the race, as well as of an extinct and long-forgotten civilisation, on which there is no traditionary poetry, or other memorial of the past to shed a solitary gleam of light. And in both cases there is the same passive resistance to every attempt from without, at the social elevation of the race, and the same rapid, visible, and gloomy progress towards its ultimate annihilation.*

If the same causes will, in similar circumstances, infallibly produce the same effects, we are warranted, *e converso*, to infer the operation of the same causes from similar effects. Whatever causes, therefore, may have produced the extreme degeneracy and degradation of the Indo-American, or red race, in the instances I have adduced, the same causes must have been in operation in producing the extreme degeneracy and degradation of the aborigines of Australia. In short, it were altogether unphilosophical to pre-suppose an original inferiority of intellect on the part of the Papuan negro, or to give him credit for a greater capacity for sinking in the scale of humanity than other tribes of men.

I trust, however, the reader will agree with me in thinking, that this subject is too important, and that the practical considerations involved in the question, whether the Papuan race of Australia is, or is not, a radically inferior species of the genus man (as is so often arrogantly asserted by individuals who have a

* Travels in the Brazils. By Dr. Von Martius.

direct interest in vilifying the unfortunate aborigines, and in keeping them down), too deeply affect the rights of humanity, and the character of the British nation, not to warrant still further investigation. In regard, then, to the condition of certain of the tribes of Southern Africa, it is evident, from the testimony of that intelligent and devoted missionary, Mr. Moffat, who has published a work on the subject, that the Bechuanas, or Bush-men, of that country, are in an equally abject state with that of any of the aborigines of Australia. "It is impossible," observes Mr. Moffat, "to look at some of their domiciles, without the inquiry involuntarily arising in the mind—are these the abodes of human beings? In a bushy country they will form a hollow, in a central position, and bring the branches together over the head; here the man, his wife, and probably a child or two, lie huddled in a heap, on a little grass in a hollow spot, not larger than an ostrich; but when bushes are scarce, they form a hollow under the edge of a rock, covering it partially with reeds or grass; and they are often to be found in fissures, and caves of the mountains. When they have abundance of meat, they do nothing but gorge and sleep, dance and sing, till their stock is exhausted; but hunger soon again drives them to the chase."

"There is some reason to think," observes the distinguished philosopher and historian David Hume, "that all the nations which lie beyond the polar circle, or between the tropics, are inferior to the rest of the species, and are incapable of all the higher attainments of the human mind. Such a uniform and constant difference (as that which subsists between the whites and the blacks) could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if Nature had not made *an original distinction* between these breeds of men."

But an equally intelligent, and much more unprejudiced witness, who speaks from extensive personal observation of the black race in Africa, expresses a very different opinion. I allude to the traveller Burckhardt.

"In intelligence I think they (the African negroes) are much upon a level with the negro Arabs (i.e. *Arabs who have become black, from a residence in Africa for several generations*), and little lower than the inhabitants of Egypt and Syria; nor should I much blame their obstinacy, if it were not too often accompanied

by malignity. All that I observed of them has not diminished my belief, that, with proper education, the black nations might be taught to approximate, and, perhaps, to equal the white."*

"One of the principal causes of the ignorance and sloth of the Africans," observes a continental philosopher of last century, as much a free-thinker as Mr. Hume, but either better informed, or more candid—I mean Helvetius, "is the fertility of their country, which supplies almost all necessaries without cultivation. The African, therefore, has no motive for reflection, and in fact he reflects but little. The same may be said of the Caribs; if they are less industrious than the savages of North America, it is because they have less occasion to labour for subsistence." And again: "The superiority of certain nations over others in the arts and sciences, can only be attributed to moral causes; there are no people privileged in point of virtue, genius, and courage. Nature in this respect has not made a partial distribution of her favours."

These are important admissions, especially on the part of a philosopher who ascribes the superiority of man himself over the horse, to nothing more than the excellence of the human hand, as an instrument of all work, as compared with the solid hoof of the inferior animal. In accordance, therefore, with this candid opinion of Helvetius, I proceed to show that the actual condition of the Papuan race in Australia has been the natural result of their peculiar circumstances, and not of any radical and original inferiority in that race.

In the first place, therefore, I conceive we are warranted to conclude, from the phenomena presented by the Papuan race, that, however abject and degraded may be its present condition, this remarkably singular and widely-scattered portion of the great family of man was originally a comparatively civilised people, strongly addicted to maritime pursuits, and displaying the utmost skill and enterprise in the art or science of ancient navigation. How shall we otherwise account for their wide dispersion over countries separated from each other, not merely by rivers and narrow straits, but by wide seas and tempestuous oceans? Had the Papuan negro never been in a higher position in the social scale than that in which we now find him in

* Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, p. 303.

Australia, and had he never possessed any other means of conveyance by water than the miserable bark-canoe of the black natives of New South Wales (for those of Van Dieman's Land had none at all), it is not only morally certain, but physically impossible, that the numerous and remote lands, of which he has unquestionably formed the aboriginal population, could ever have been reached by his race. But this abject and degraded savage is evidently the descendant of the comparatively civilised, as well as bold intrepid navigator of a long by-gone age, who, with equal skill and daring, trimmed his light galley successively to the easterly and westerly monsoons of the great Indian Archipelago, when there were no rivals, of a different race, to dispute with him the empire of the seas, and who, in a period of time too remote for history, planted his numerous colonies in a thousand isles.

And why should this appear incredible, especially to the implicit believer of this "damnable doctrine" of some, at least, of the Australian squatters—that the black man of the forests of Australia is, originally, no better than the *orang-outang* or monkey? The black race of the Western Pacific are still as bold and skilful navigators as the fairer, or Polynesian race. They form communities and cultivate the land, as well as the other race; and, in the great island of New Guinea, which they still occupy exclusively, and from which they have hitherto repelled all attempts of the fairer races, whether Polynesian or European, to dispossess them, have numerous and populous villages, and extensive cultivation. The remarkable resemblance of the manners and customs, as well as of the physical conformation, of the Papuans of the Western Pacific, to those of the aborigines of New Holland, proclaims their common origin, and the identity of their race. The practice of tattooing, for instance, or puncturing figures in the skin of the face, or other parts of the body, has been almost universal among the Polynesian, or lighter race of the Pacific, and has also prevailed extensively among the Indo-American nations, having been observed even among the Indians of the Red River Settlement, to the northward of Canada. It is unknown, however, to the black race of the Western Pacific, to whom, indeed, it would be of no service as an ornament, from the dark colour of their skin. But in lieu of this process, they

make those singular scars on the skin, which, although unknown among the lighter race, are universal among the aborigines of Australia.

"The inhabitants of Tanna," says Forster, "have on their arms and bellies elevated scars, representing flowers, stars, and various other figures. They are made by first cutting the skin with a sharp bamboo reed, and then applying a certain plant to the wound, which raises the scar above the rest of the skin. The inhabitants of Tayovan or Formosa, by a very painful operation, express on their naked skins various figures of trees, flowers, and animals. The great men in Guinea have their skins flowered like damask. And in Decan, the women likewise have flowers cut into their flesh on the forehead, the arms, and the breasts, and the elevated scars are painted in colours, and exhibit the appearance of flowered damask." Again,

"The inhabitants of Mallicollo and Tanna wore a cylindrical stone in the *septum narium*; and the same part was found perforated, in the natives of New Holland, by Mr. Bankes and Captain Cook; but instead of a small stone, a bone of a bird, five or six inches long, and nearly as thick as a man's finger, was thrust into the hole. And Dampier observed, likewise, in the men of New Britain, such long sticks thrust into the hole of the gristle between the nostrils."*

Both of the practices alluded to above—that of making "cuttings in the flesh," and the printing of marks upon the body, or tattooing—appear to have been of the highest antiquity, for they were both prohibited to the ancient Israelites, along with various other apparently indifferent, but heathenish practices, in the Mosaic Law. "*Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am the Lord.*" Lev. xix. 28.

In the second place, we are warranted to conclude, from the phenomena presented in the existence and diffusion of the Papuan race, that they were the first portion of the family of man that reached the south-eastern extremity of Asia, and peopled the multitude of the isles of the Indian Archipelago; which they appear to have done by passing successively, in the course of ages, from island to island, northward, eastward, and southward, as

* Observations, &c., p. 589.

the spirit of adventure—or accident, in the case of unexpected storms at sea—or the event of war, compelling the vanquished to take to their boats, to save themselves from an indiscriminate massacre on shore, had gradually led to the discovery and occupation of another and another new land. The north-westerly monsoon, which prevails for six months every year in the Indian seas, and extends far to the eastward, would, doubtless, accelerate the process, and spread these primitive navigators over the numberless islands of the Western Pacific, as well as over those of the Archipelago.

There is reason to believe, indeed, that the Papuan race had at one time spread itself over a considerable portion of continental India, but that the gradual advance of a more powerful race from the westward had either driven them eastward, towards the Peninsula of Malacca, or swallowed them up completely, as a distinct race, in the course of a few generations. The remnants of the race, found in the Andaman Islands, in the Bay of Bengal, and in the mountainous region of Mongheir, in Central India, render this supposition highly probable. Perhaps even their original retreat to the islands of the Archipelago, and their general adoption of the habits and pursuits of a maritime people, *which it is natural for islanders to become*, was the result of necessity, from the pressure of the more numerous and powerful tribes advancing from the westward.

The gradual disappearance and ultimate extinction of the primitive civilisation—such as it was—of the Papuan race in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, after they had been subdued, and dispossessed and driven to the mountains, by a more civilised and powerful race from the westward, appears to me to be by no means a strange and unprecedented phenomenon. On the contrary, it is exactly what we behold almost everywhere in the continent of America. Besides, we have no record of the struggles which these islanders (whose congeners in other lands are still undoubtedly a brave people) in all likelihood maintained for a time with their more powerful invaders for the preservation of their country—for their freedom and their independence. All that has come down to us is the fact, that they were ultimately vanquished in battle, and dispossessed of their once happy homes, and that the feeble remnants of their race were driven, dispirited,

to the mountains, and there forced to become wild men. And I maintain, that it is quite in accordance with the usual phenomena of human nature, that a mode of life which was thus adopted at first from dire necessity, should, in process of time, have become a matter of choice, and be persevered in with an obstinacy that resists every attempt from without to induce them to change it for what *we* consider a nobler and a better.

In the third place, we are warranted, from the phenomena presented in the existence and diffusion of the Papuan race, to claim for that race the highest possible antiquity reconcilable with the post-diluvian history of man. It is universally allowed that this race formed the aboriginal population of the Indian Archipelago, and in all probability it had been in the occupation and possession of these islands for a whole series of ages before their conquest by the fairer race from the westward. But this latter race has not only spread itself over the entire Archipelago, but over the vast extent of the boundless Pacific, from the Sandwich Islands to New Zealand, and from the latter island to Easter Island, within 600 leagues of the American land; if it has not also discovered and settled the vast continent of America itself, as I am persuaded it has, from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn. Such extensive migrations, however, like the phenomena of geology, imply "Time, time, time!" although by no means a time long anterior to the period of history — to the age of Abraham, or the siege of Troy.

The phenomena of language warrant the same conclusion. These are of two kinds. In the *first* place, the Malayan language, which is evidently a cognate language with that of the different Polynesian nations of the fairer race, exhibits evidences of two distinct and foreign infusions — on the one hand, an Arabic or recent infusion originating in Mahomedan ascendancy in the East; and, on the other, a much earlier or Sanscrit infusion, referable to the times when the great nation who spoke that ancient tongue had extended their language and institutions to the limits of the Eastern world. But as the Polynesian language exhibits no trace of either of these infusions, it is reasonable to conclude that the forefathers of the Polynesian nation who succeeded and dispossessed the Papuans in the Indian Isles, had been broken off from the great family of Asiatic nations long anterior

to the rise and prevalence of the Sanscrit language and institutions in the East.*

The *second* class of phenomena to which I have alluded, is the one alluded to by Von Martius in the Brazils—the amazing diversity of languages among the aboriginal tribes of that country. This phenomenon is truly wonderful, and implies, much more than the mere extent of country which the race has traversed and occupied, the lapse of long ages for its production. At all events it laughs to scorn the folly of those idle enthusiasts who would attempt to trace the peopling of America to the supposed flight of a large company of fugitives across Behring's Straits, from before the conquering hordes of Zenghis, or to the dispersion of the armada of Kublai Khan. Even supposing that these fugitives could have occupied the whole extent of that continent in the comparatively short period that has elapsed since the era of either of these mighty Tartars, it is not conceivable that in so short a period they could have originated the vast number of native languages that are still spoken in America. Such a phenomenon requires for its production not merely hundreds but thousands of

* Buddhism appears to have been at one time universally prevalent in India, but the Sanscrit language, and the institutions of Brahminism, which seem to have travelled along with it from the westward, eventually swept it away. The following passage is the testimony of a French traveller to this fact. It is interesting on another account, as it expresses the sentiments of an intelligent Roman Catholic in regard to a form of worship somewhat similar to his own:—

"The Great Lama of Kanawer has the Episcopal mitre and crosier. He is habited like our Prelates, and a superficial observer would, at a distance, mistake his Tibetan or Buddhist mass, for a Roman mass, and one of the most orthodox. He makes a score of genuflexions at different intervals; turns to the altar and people alternately, rings a bell, drinks out of a cup of water which an acolyte pours out for him; mumbles pater-nosters to the same tune; — in short, *there is disgusting resemblance in every point.* Some men will see in this nothing but a corruption of Christianity. Nevertheless it is incontestable that *Buddhism, now confined to the north of the Himalaya, the east of the Burrampooter, and to some islands of the Indian Archipelago, preceded, in India, the worship of Brahma.* It still partially existed there at the period of the invasion of the first Affghan conquerors, who proved, like the Spaniards in America, that persecution, in spite of the proverb, is no feeble engine of religious conversion."*

* Letters from India, describing a journey in the British Dominions of India, Thibet, Lahore, and Cashmere, &c., by Victor Jacquemont, Travelling Naturalist to the Museum of Natural History, Paris.—2 vols. London, 1835. Vol. i. p. 297.

years. The tendency to the formation of a great diversity of languages in such a country as America—where there are necessarily great differences of soil, climate, productions, and modes of life, as well as great fluctuations in society from extensive migrations, wars, conquests, &c.—must be incomparably stronger than in the small communities of the South Sea Islands, where the soil, climate, and productions are nearly of the same character throughout, and where each little society has been isolated for ages from every other. Hence, the differences of language in the latter case are merely dialectic, and not to be compared with those either of America or of Australia. For the same reason, doubtless, the Celtic language has been preserved in comparative purity in the mountains of Wales, and in the Highlands of Scotland, from the period of the Romans until the present day, while every trace of that language has disappeared from the plains, under the successive irruptions and conquests of the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans. But whatever period the phenomena of language may compel us to assign for the original migration of the forefathers of the Polynesian and Indo-American races from south-eastern Asia, it is unquestionable that the Papuan race were at that period the undisputed lords of the isles of the east. It is easy to see how and why the latter race could advance no farther eastward than the Western Pacific; for so soon as they were overtaken by the lighter race, their further progress in that direction would be effectually checked.

Independently, however, of this secondary evidence of the great antiquity of the Papuan race, the gradual dispersion of that race over the vast continental island of Australia and the island of Van Diemen's Land, and the formation of the numberless languages that have been spoken, or are still spoken, in these extensive regions, as well as in the Papuan isles of the Western Pacific, imply a series of ages that cannot be numbered by hundreds, but by thousands of years. When the Rev. Mr. Schmidt, of the German Mission to the aborigines of Moreton Bay, was on his journey to the Bunya-Bunya country, the escort of aborigines who accompanied him consisted of natives of five different tribes, of whom those living at the greatest distances from each other could hold no communication together, except through the natives of the

intermediate tribes. In Van Diemen's Land, an island not quite so large as Ireland, there were not fewer than four distinct nations, speaking four different languages, in some of which the words for the commonest objects, such as fire and water, were totally distinct from those used to designate the same objects in the others. Such a multiplicity and diversity of languages is evidently not the work of a few centuries, but of tens of centuries.*

Sir Thomas Mitchell evidently entertained a similar opinion to the one to which I have given expression, as to the high antiquity of the Papuan race in Australia. It is expressed quite incidentally, after describing an ingenious net for catching water-fowl, which he had found stretched across the Lower Murray. The passage I allude to is as follows: "As these natives possess but little besides what is essentially necessary to their existence, we may conclude that they have used spears for killing the kangaroo, stone axes for cutting out the opossum, and nets for catching birds, or kangaroos, or fish, since the earliest ages in Australia. Almost any specimen of art they possess is the result of necessity (the mother of invention). Perhaps the iron tomahawk is the only important addition made to their implements DURING THE LAST

* "It was with some surprise that I saw the natives of the east coast of New South Wales so nearly portrayed in those of the south-western extremity of New Holland. These do not, indeed, extract one of the upper front teeth at the age of puberty, as is generally practised at Port Jackson, nor do they make use of the *womerah*, or throwing-stick; but their colour, the texture of the hair and personal appearance are the same; their songs run in the same cadence; the manner of painting themselves is similar; their belts and fillets of hair are made in the same way, and worn in the same manner. The short skin cloak, which is of kangaroo skin, and worn over the shoulders, leaving the rest of the body naked, is more in the manner of the wood natives living at the back of Port Jackson, than of those who inhabit the sea coast. * * * Notwithstanding the similarity of person and manner to the inhabitants of Port Jackson, the language of these people is very different."—*Flinders's Voyage to Terra Australis*, vol. i. p. 66.

"The negro races who inhabit the mountains of the Malayan peninsula, in the lowest and most abject state of social existence, though numerically few, are divided into a great many distinct tribes speaking as many different languages. Among the rude and scattered population of the island of Timor, it is believed that not less than forty languages are spoken On Ende and Flores we have also a multiplicity of languages; and among the cannibal population of Borneo, it is not improbable that many hundreds are spoken. Civilization advances as we proceed westward; and in the considerable island of Sambawa, there are but five tongues; in the civilised portion of Celebes, not more than four; in the great island of Sumatra not above six, and in Java but two."—*Crawford's Hist. Ind. Archipelago*, vol. ii. p. 79.

THREE OR FOUR THOUSAND YEARS."* Sir Thomas was evidently of opinion that the phenomena of their dispersion, as well as of the numberless dialects in use among them, could not be accounted for on the supposition of their having come into Australia within a shorter period than *three or four thousand years ago*. For my own part, I do not ask for a higher antiquity for them.

But how, it may be asked, has the Australian so completely lost the supposed civilization of his remote progenitors, limited and feeble though it was? How has he completely lost their superior skill in navigation? How has he ceased entirely to be a cultivator of the soil? To this it may be answered, that the first art of civilization of which an islander, in a comparatively low state of advancement, who becomes the inhabitant of a continent, loses the knowledge, is the art of navigation, as the boundless extent of the land leaves him thenceforth no further inducement to tempt the sea. The African negro, for instance, is no sailor; neither is the Indian of America in any part of that continent. In regard to the other branch of this question, it follows, from the course which the Papuan race has evidently taken in its eastward progress from the continent of Asia, that it must have originally reached the coast of Australia from the northward,—probably from New Guinea, from Timor, or from some other island still farther to the northward. A few hapless individuals who had in all probability been overtaken by an unexpected tempest, when passing on one of their short voyages from one well-known island to another in the Archipelago, and been driven far beyond their reckoning into an unknown sea, had, after extreme privations and suffering, reached the shores of the unknown land. This, we have every reason to believe, was the way in which the coast of Australia was first discovered,—was first trodden by the foot of man.†

* Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c. By Sir T. L. Mitchell, &c. &c., Surveyor-general of New South Wales, vol. ii. p. 153.

† It is particularly worthy of observation, that the aborigines of that portion of the northern coast of Australia which, on my hypothesis, must have been the first reached and inhabited by man, still construct their canoes in a much superior style to those of any other tribe of natives that has hitherto been observed on all the other coasts of Australia. Whether the island from which the first sable Columbus and his party found their way to the unknown land, was as far to the westward in the Indian Archipelago as Timor — from which a north-westerly monsoon blows in the direction of north-eastern Australia six months every year, and which is only about 250 miles distant altogether—or as far to the east-

Now what could such individuals do in such circumstances? Would they tempt the ocean again, to meet the death from which they had so miraculously escaped, and without knowing whither

ward as New Guinea, from which the passage across would be much easier, as there are islands intervening, the landing must in all likelihood have taken place somewhere between Melville Island or Port Essington to the westward, and Cape York to the eastward of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Now at Port Essington, and at Blue Mud Bay in the Gulf of Carpentaria, Captain King found the native canoes constructed of a single sheet of bark (with short cross-pieces at the bottom within, to preserve the shape and strength of the vessel), and *measuring not less than eighteen feet in length by two in width, and capable of containing as many as eight persons, being neatly and even tastefully constructed.* And at Bloomfield Rivulet, at Endeavour River and Cape Tribulation, near the northern extremity of the land on the east coast, the canoes seen by the same navigator were each *hollowed out of a tree, and of a different construction from any previously found.* Now these must have been respectable vessels, compared with the miserable bark canoes used by the natives on all the other coasts of the vast island, as well as in any part of the interior hitherto discovered; and it would be quite practicable, at any time during the prevalence of the north-westerly monsoon, for a canoe of the description and dimensions first mentioned to perform the voyage from Timor to Australia. A large fishing canoe of this description, driven unexpectedly to sea from the south-eastern coast of the former of these islands, may have peopled all Australia and Van Diemen's Land.

It is not at all necessary to suppose that the aborigines of Australia who migrated to the southward, had retained their ancient knowledge of navigation, from the fact of their having crossed over Bass's Straits, when they reached the southern extremity of the larger island, and peopled Van Diemen's Land; for the islands in mid-channel in the straits are visible from the high land near Wilson's Promontory, the southern extremity of the mainland, and the passage from thence would be comparatively easy to the opposite shore. But this supposition probably taxes the native intellect and enterprise to a much greater extent than is absolutely necessary; for it appears to me extremely probable that the extent of land in Bass's Straits was much greater, two or three thousand years ago, and the passage across to Van Diemen's Land consequently much easier for an aboriginal navigator than at present. There are soundings the whole way across, and the prevalence of strong westerly winds for at least eight months every year, and the consequent rush of waters to the eastward from the great Southern Ocean through the straits, are evidently and rapidly disintegrating and wasting away the existing land in that locality. The island of Rodondo, in particular, on the northern side of the straits, exhibits this process in a remarkable degree. It is a mere sugar-loaf, rising to a height of several hundred feet out of the water, but showing, in the character of the precipitous cliffs which it everywhere presents to the sea, that it must at one time have been of much greater extent than it is now.

Besides, there are the strongest evidences of volcanic action along the southern coast of Australia, for five hundred miles to the westward from Cape Howe; and it is not improbable that in one or other of those mighty revolutions of nature, of which that whole extent of country must at one time have been the scene, a large extent of land may have been submerged in the region of Bass's Straits, and the southern extremity of the ancient

to steer their course? This were exceedingly improbable; and in all likelihood, therefore, they would just endeavour to reconcile themselves to their new situation, by doing their best to provide themselves with the means of subsistence in their new-found land. Supposing, then, that they had even been previously well acquainted with the cultivation of certain plants and roots and grain in their native isle, of what avail could this knowledge have been to them in a country on whose inhospitable coast there were no such fruits, or roots, or grain to cultivate? * Supposing that they had previously had several species of domesticated animals—the sheep, the goat, the buffalo-cow, the horse, and the different varieties of poultry known in the Archipelago—of what avail would the recollection of all this be to them in a country in which there were no such animals to domesticate? We know well what has happened to Englishmen, with all the lights and civilization of the nineteenth century, who have irrecoverably lost their way in the woods of Australia and Van Diemen's Land—they have invariably perished of hunger! And are the aborigines of Australia to be set down as a radically and hopelessly

continent cut off from the mainland, and formed into a separate island. The poet Virgil informs us, on the authority of an ancient tradition, that a convulsion of this kind had separated the island of Sicily from the mainland of Italy, of which it once formed a part, and produced the Straits of Messina.

"Hæc loca, vi quondam et vastâ convulsa ruinâ
(*Tantùm ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas*)
Dissiluisse ferunt, quum protenus utraque tellus
Una foret: venit medio vi pontus, et undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes
Littore diductas angusto interluit æstu."

VIRG. *Æneid.* lib. iii.

Only substitute Australia for Italy, Van Diemen's Land for Sicily, and Bass's Straits for the Straits of Messina, and this description will in all likelihood be as true in the one case as it is in the other. By the way, from the line I have marked with italics, Virgil might almost be taken for a modern geologist of the Lyell school.

* The indigenous vegetation even of the fertile island of Sicily, so long the granary of Rome, is represented by the poet Virgil as affording but a miserable substitute for the food of civilized man:—

"*Victum infelicem*, baccas, lapidosaque corna
Dant rami, et vulsis pascunt radicibus herbæ."

Æneid. iii. 650.

Which a Scottish poet somewhat characteristically translates—

"O dule an' sair! there's nocht to fill their mawes,
But arnots, blaeberries, an' hippes an' hawes!"

inferior race, merely because they have not only managed to subsist, it may be for three or four thousand years, but to rear an infinity of tribes, speaking an infinity of languages, where Englishmen, in precisely similar circumstances, uniformly perish of hunger? It is unjust, in every sense of the word, to measure the unfortunate Australian by a European standard of civilization: for what, I ask, would the European have been for the last three or four thousand years, without those fruits and roots and vegetables and grain, without those domesticated animals, upon the possession of which, humanly speaking, the whole superstructure of his boasted civilization depends? The criterion by which we are to estimate the intellectual capacity and resources of the black native of Australia, is to ascertain what he has done in the very peculiar circumstances in which he has been placed; and on this point I am happy to avail myself once more of the experience and observation of so highly competent an observer as Dr. Leichhardt, the Australian traveller. The following is an extract of one of the interesting letters of that gentleman to his friend Mr. Lynd, of Sydney, on the aborigines:—

"The black fellow, in his natural state, and not yet contaminated or irritated by the white man, is hospitable, and not at all devoid of kind feelings. We had a striking instance of the honesty of these men. A native dog which they had tamed, came during our absence and took our meat provisions. When we returned, one of the black fellows came and brought back a piece of bacon and the cloth in which it was. The ham had been devoured by the dog, but the black brought even the bones which still remained. For about three figs of tobacco they provided us two days with oysters and crabs. They are a fine race of men, tall and well made, and their bodies, individually, as well as the groups which they formed, would have delighted the eye of an artist. Is it fancy? but I am far more pleased in seeing the naked body of the black fellow than that of the white man. It is the white colour, or I do not know what, which is less agreeable to the eye. When I was in Paris, I was often in the public baths in the Seine, and how few well made men did I see! There is little fat in the black fellow, but his muscles are equally developed, and their play appears on every part of the body, particularly on the back, when you are walking be-

hind him and he is carrying something on his head. The Bunya black, who lives on the food which the brushes yield to him, is shorter but sturdy and thickly set. As much as I was able to observe, there is nothing in the nature in which they live which they have not discovered. They make fine baskets of the leaf of Xerotes, and ropes and nets of the bark of Hibiscus: they make vessels of the sheath of the leaf of Seaforthia, or hollow out pieces of wood. They are quite as particular about the material of their wommerangs, their spears, nullah-nullahs, and helimans, as a European artist. They make little canoes of the stringy-bark tree, which they call Dibil palam. Some of their discoveries are very singular. They prepare for food, for instance, the tubers and the stem of Caladium, which is so hot that the smallest bit chewed will produce a violent inflammation and swelling. How is it that they were not frightened by the first feeling of pain, but went on experimenting? Some particular circumstances must have assisted them in this discovery. Their resources for obtaining food are extremely various. They seem to have tasted everything, from the highest top of the Buaya tree and the Seaforthia and cabbage palm, to the grub which lies in the rotten tree of the brush, or feeds on the lower stem or root of the Xanthorrhæa. By the by, I tasted this grub, and it tastes very well, particularly in chewing the skin, which contains much fat. It has a very nutty taste, which is impaired, however, by that of the rotten wood upon which the animal lives. They are well aware that this grub changes into a beetle, resembling the cockchafer, and that another transforms into a moth. Particularly agreeable to them is the honey with which the little stingless native bee provides them amply. You have no idea of the number of bees' nests which exist in this country. My black fellow, who accompanies me at present, finds generally three or four of them daily, and would find many more if I gave him full time to look for them. They do not find these nests as the black fellows in Liverpool Plains; *they do not attach a down to the legs of the little animal;* but their sharp eye discovers the little animals flying in and out the opening—even sixty and more feet high. 'Me millmill bull' (I see a bee's nest), he exclaims, and, so saying, he puts off his shirt, takes the tomahawk, and up he goes. If in a branch, he cuts it off the tree and enjoys

the honey on the ground. Is it in the body of the tree, he taps at first with the tomahawk to know the real position, and then he opens the nest. The honey is sweet, but a little pungent. There is, besides the honey, a kind of dry bee-bread, like gingerbread, which is very nourishing. The part in which the grub lives is very acid. The black fellow destroys every swarm of which he takes the honey. It is impossible for him to save the young brood."

The practice in regard to catching bees, alluded to by Dr. Leichhardt, is thus described by Sir Thomas Mitchell:—

"We were now [in the valley of the Bogan River, to the westward of the Blue Mountains] in a 'land flowing with honey,' for the natives with their new tomahawks extracted it in abundance from the hollow branches of the trees, and it seemed that in the season they could find it almost everywhere. To such inexpert clowns, as they probably thought us, the honey and the bees were inaccessible, and indeed invisible, save only when the natives cut it out, and brought it to us in little sheets of bark, thus displaying a degree of ingenuity and skill in supplying their wants, which we, with all our science, could not hope to attain. *They would catch one of the bees, and attach to it, with some resin or gum, the light down of the swan or owl; thus laden, the bee would make for the branch of some lofty tree, and so betray its home of sweets to its keen-eyed pursuers, whose bee-chase presented a laughable scene.*"—Vol. i. p. 171.

Their skill as fishermen, also, is acknowledged by Sir Thomas in the following passage:—

"Unlike the natives on the Darling, these inhabitants of the banks of the Bogan subsist more on the opossum, kangaroo, and emu, than on the fish of their river. *Here* fishing is left entirely to the gins [or wives], who drag every hole in a very simple and effectual manner, by pushing before them, from one end of the pond to the other, a moveable dam of long twisted dry grass, through which the water can only pass, while *all* the fish remain and are caught. Thus not a fish escapes; and when at the holes where any tribe had recently been, when my men began to fish, any natives near would laugh most heartily at the hopeless attempt."—Vol. i. p. 332.

In regard to the colour of the Papuan race, there is reason to believe that in their progress to the eastward from the earlier post-diluvian settlements of the human race, they had crossed the continent of Asia in a comparatively low latitude, and had been exposed, perhaps for several successive generations, to the influence of that Indian climate which dyes the skin of the Hindoo a jet black. The lighter-coloured Polynesian race, however, and the Indo-Chinese family of nations, to which it seems to have been originally allied, appear to have crossed the Asiatic continent, in their progress to the eastward, in a much higher latitude, where that peculiar influence of climate is not perceptible. Professor Blumenbach has observed, that the colour of the skin and the character of the hair are accidental circumstances, and not to be taken as the foundation of varieties of the human species. They seem indeed to be owing to certain inexplicable climatic influences peculiar to certain regions of the earth, and independent in great measure of mere vicinity to the equator; for while the lighter-coloured Polynesian race retains its comparatively fair complexion under the line, it is well known that the Jews and the Portuguese who have been for several generations in India, are as black as the Hindoos, while Burckhardt informs us, in the passage already quoted from his travels in Nubia, that the Sheghyia Arabs in that country, although retaining the Arab countenance, and the long hair of that nation, are as black as the negroes.

In writing on this subject, however, Dr. Prichard, who has written so ably, and at such length on the natural history of man, has been betrayed into a slight inaccuracy, which it is important for the interests of truth generally, and particularly of revealed truth, to correct. Speaking of the two races in the Pacific, Dr. Prichard observes, "In neither case can we perceive any traces of the influence of climate. The latter race (the Papuan) scattered in the various parts of the vast island of New Holland, which has such variety of temperature, everywhere retains its black colour, although the climate at the English settlements is not much unlike that of England; and in Van Diemen's Land, extending to 45° south latitude (it is well understood that the cold is much more severe in the southern hemisphere, at an equal distance

from the equator than in the northern) they are of a deep black colour, and have curled hair like the negroes." *

Now, although it is neither strange nor unaccountable that when once the human skin has acquired a sable hue under those peculiar and inexplicable climatic influences to which I have adverted, the dark colour should not only be indelible, but be transmitted, under every variety of climate, to the latest posterity of the individual, it is not the fact that "we can perceive no traces of the influence of climate" in the colour of the aborigines of Australia. On the contrary, such traces are evident and indubitable; for whereas the natives of Moreton Bay are as black as the Mandingo negroes, those of the southern coast, at Portland Bay, at King George's Sound near Cape Leeuwin, at Melbourne, and on the Murray River, ten degrees farther south, are rather of a copper colour than jet black. I have seen pure-blooded Portuguese in the Brazils quite as black as many of these southern natives; and Sir Thomas Mitchell, the discoverer of Australia Felix, fancied that he could even detect red cheeks in a sable beauty of that part of the territory.† In short, having had occasion to visit these southern regions, almost immediately after my return from Moreton Bay, on my first visit to that country, I was particularly struck with the influence of climate as evidenced in the remarkable difference apparent in the colour of the aborigines of that part of the Australian land, as compared with those of the far north; and I felt myself constrained, from the evidence of my own senses, to conclude, that the black colour which they have borne, perhaps for thousands of years, was nevertheless not the original colour of the Papuan race.

It is ridiculous to tell us, in alleged proof of the radical and original distinction of the white and black races, that Europeans

* Dr. Prichard' s Inaugural Disputation on the varieties of the Human Species, p. 89.

† "There were two daughters of the gin that had been killed, who were pointed out sitting in the group then before me, together with a little boy, a son. The girls bore an exact resemblance to each other, and at once reminded me of the mother. The youngest was the handsomest female I had ever seen amongst the natives. She was so far from black, that the red colour was very apparent in her cheeks."*—Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c., by Sir T. L. Mitchell, F.G.L. and M.R.G.S., Surveyor-General of New South Wales, vol. ii. p. 93.

* This was on the Lower Murray, near the mouth of the Darling.

do not get black notwithstanding a protracted residence either in India or Africa. Are Europeans, it may well be asked in reply, ever exposed to the sun and the other influences of climate in these countries, as the Papuan race have uniformly been within the tropics—having their naked bodies exposed to the heavens for many successive generations! It is surely not a matter of wonder that different causes do not produce like effects.

From certain peculiarities in their manners and customs, and especially from their general practice of cannibalism in one of its most remarkable forms, I am strongly inclined to believe that the Papuan race is part of that great family of nations which was known to the ancients under the generic name of Scythians, and which derived both its name and its origin from Cush, or Cuth, the eldest son of Ham, the son of Noah. After informing us that the descendants of Japheth had directed their course from the original settlements of the human race, after the deluge, to the north-westward, and peopled Europe and the coasts of the Mediterraneaa, or "the Isles of the Gentiles," the sacred writer proceeds to inform us as follows, of the distribution and migrations of the descendants of Ham. "And the sons of Ham; *Cush*, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan. And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and *Raamah*, and Sabtechah: and the sons of Raamah; Shebah, and Dedan. And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. *Out of that land went forth* Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city." Gen. x. 6-12. From this it is evident not only that the family of Cush established the most ancient of the post-diluvian kingdoms in the territory which has since been called Babylonia, but that a portion of his family, branching off from the parent settlement, directed their course to the eastward. There is reason to believe, indeed, that the course of emigration in the post-diluvian world was principally to the eastward, and the comparatively dense population and superior civilization of the nations of India and China, in an early period of the history of man, are proof positive of the

fact. But the progress of emigration and civilization in the ancient world was, in all likelihood, much the same in its character and circumstances as it is in the modern — the main body of agricultural emigrants, mechanics, and townspeople would be preceded by a light infantry of trappers and backwoodsmen, or squatters, deriving their subsistence partly from the chase and partly from a limited and occasional cultivation. Now, if the Papuan race, as a branch of the great family of Cush, occupied this position, as the vanguard of emigration to the eastward in the ancient world, and was constantly pushed forward by the constantly-increasing pressure from behind, its earlier arrival at the south-eastern extremity of Asia, its peculiar condition at that period, as being in a lower and feebler state of civilization, and its consequent inability to withstand the irruption of a more advanced race, will be easily explicable.

The following passage from the learned pen of Sir William Jones, is in remarkable accordance with the views I have just given in regard both to the source and the course of ancient emigration, as well as in regard to the time and manner in which the stream of population was originally directed, from the earliest post-diluvian settlements of the human race, towards the Indian Archipelago, Australia, Polynesia and America. I confess I am strongly of opinion, that the aborigines of *all* these countries are of the race of Ham :—

"The children of Ham, who founded in Iran the first monarchy of Chaldeans, invented letters, observed and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known Indian period of 432,000 years, or 120 repetitions of the Saros; *were dispersed at various intervals, and in various colonies, over land and ocean;* the tribes of Mesr, Cush and Rama (*names remaining unchanged in Sanscrit, and highly revered by the Hindoos*), settled in Africk and India." *

In the preliminary dissertation prefixed to his translation of the Koran of Mahomet, the learned Mr. Sale informs us, that "the country called *Cush* in Scripture does not appear to have been Ethiopia, as the word is translated in our version. It was rather a tract of country extending along the banks of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, now called *Chuzestan* or *Su-*

* Life of Sir William Jones, by Lord Teignmouth, p. 385.

siana; from whence probably *Shushan* is derived, the name of the capital of the Persian monarchs in the days of Ezra." It is evident, therefore, that the great starting point of post-diluvian emigration was far to the eastward; and as Raamah, one of the sons of Cush, is unquestionably the god Ram of Indian, or rather Buddhist, mythology, there is proof positive of a great Cushite emigration to the eastward having been directed from that starting-point in the very infancy of the human race.

The learned Jacob Bryant, who, notwithstanding his many singular fancies, has struck out not a few lights that serve to illumine the darkness of antiquity, informs us that Cush, the son of Ham, was styled by his descendants (the Babylonians and Chaldeans) Cuth, their country being styled Cutha, and its inhabitants Cuthites or Cuthæans. These words commencing with a strong guttural or aspirate, became, in the mouths of the Greeks, Σκυθα or Σκυθια and Σκυθιοι, Scythia and Scythians, on the same principle as Ὑλη, ἑρπω, ἑπτα and ἁλς in Greek, became *sylva, serpo, septem,* and *sal,* in Latin. This is evident from the following passage, which he quotes from the treatise of *Epiphanius, adversus Hæres.* Ἀπο δε του κλιματος, κ.τ.λ. "Those nations which reach southward from that part of the world, where the two great continents of Europe and Asia incline to each other and are connected, were universally styled Scythæ (Scythians), according to an appellation of long standing. These were of that family who of old erected the great tower and who built the city of Babylon." Vol. v. p. 191. Now, it is a singular fact, that the general voice of antiquity charges this most ancient portion of the human family with the practice of that most revolting species of cannibalism, which, we shall find in the sequel, is practised systematically by the aborigines of Australia, *that of devouring the dead bodies of their relatives and connections, and doing it moreover as an act of piety.* And so peculiarly Scythian did the ancients consider this practice, that Mr. Bryant lays it down as a general principle, in regard to the nations of antiquity, that "all those among whom these customs prevailed may be termed Ethiopians. They were all of the Cuthic race; and consequently of Ethiopic original."* The following are some of the testimonies on the subject adduced by Mr. Bryant.

* New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology. Six volumes, London, 1807. Vol. v. p. 218.

Strabo says of the Scythians generally: Τους μεν γαρ ειναι χαλεπους, ὡστε και ανθρωποφαγειν. "They are a very savage people, and even practise cannibalism."

Pliny records the fact also in three different passages, in one of which he refers to the religious character and origin of the practice:—"Anthropophagi Scythæ—humanis corporibus vescuntur." "The Scythians are cannibals, and eat the bodies of men."—"Esse Scytharum genera, et plurima, quæ corporibus humanis vescerentur, indicavimus." "We have shown that there are very many tribes of Scythians that eat human bodies." "Scythæ sunt Androphagi et Sacæ. Indorum quidam nullum animal occidere, nulla carne vesci, optimum existimant. Quidam proximos, parentesque, priusquam annis et ægritudine in maciem eant, velut hostias, cædunt; cæsorumque *visceribus* epulari fas, et *maxime pium est.*" "The Scythians and Sacæ are men-eaters. Certain of the Indian nations consider it improper to kill any animal, or to eat flesh. Others sacrifice their near connections and relations, before they become emaciated with sickness and disease, and consider it not only lawful, but *a great act of piety* to feast upon the entrails of those who are thus killed."

Tertullian (Contra Manichæos) repeats the same charge in the following language:—"Parentum cadavera cum pecudibus cæsa convivio devorant (scilicet Scythæ)." "The Scythians in their banquets devour the bodies of their relations whom they have put to death for the purpose, along with those of their sheep and cattle."

In addition to these charges of the ancients against the Scythians, for which I am indebted to Mr. Bryant, I happened to find the following passage, which is still more to the purpose, as exhibiting the practice of the aborigines of Australia, in Lucian:—

Διελομενοι κατα τα εθνη τας ταφας, ὁ μεν Ἑλλην εκαυσεν, ὁ δε Περσης εθαψεν, ὁ δε Ινδος ἁλω περιχριει, ὁ δε Σκυθης κατεσθιει, ταριχευει δε ὁ Αιγυπτιος·—Lucian. Περι πενθους.

"Different nations have very different modes of disposing of their dead: the Greeks burn them; the Persians bury them; the Indians anoint them with gums; the Scythians eat them; and the Egyptians embalm them."*

* Diogenes Laertius also informs us to the same effect, that Θαπτουσι δε

As it is utterly incredible, therefore, that a practice so monstrous in its character, so inexplicable in its origin, and so revolting to the feelings of all other classes and tribes of men, whether savage or civilized, should have arisen independently of each other among the Papuan race of the south-eastern hemisphere and the ancient Scythians or Cuthæans, so far to the westward, there is reason to believe that it had a common origin in both cases, and that the modern Papuans are merely a branch of that most ancient family of nations, or in other words, "descendants of Cush." It is not improbable, indeed, that this practice was one of the superstitions and abominations of the ancient antediluvian world, of which there is reason to believe that not a few were revived and continued, especially in Egypt, among the posterity of Ham.

I have already observed that the aborigines of Australia are universally divided into distinct and independent tribes, each occupying as their hunting-grounds a certain portion of territory, of which the limits are generally well defined by prominent features in the natural scenery of the country, and well known to all the neighbouring tribes. This division appears to have taken place from time immemorial, as there is no part of the available portion of the country to which some tribe or other does not lay claim. It seems also to have proceeded on much the same principles as those of the present division into *runs* or squatting sta-

Αιγυπτιοι μεν ταριχευοντες, Ῥωμαιοι δε καιοντες, Παιονες δε εις τας λιμνας ριπτουντες.—Pyrrhus.

"The Egyptians first embalm, and then bury their dead—the Romans burn them, and the Pæonians throw them into lakes."

Diogenes is scarcely correct, however, in regard to the Romans, at least the more ancient Romans; among whom the dead were either buried or burned, as is evident from the following law of the twelve tables, in which the practice of burying, which was probably the more frequent of the two at an earlier period, is mentioned first:—"Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito,"—"Let no dead body be either buried or burnt within the city." The Pæonian practice has not unfrequently been followed by the aborigines of New South Wales in regard to the living, in the case of infants. When walking one day with my brother along a beautiful lake on his property in that colony many years ago, a black woman of rather an agreeable appearance met us, who, my brother told me, before she came up to us, had thrown several of her children into the lake. I immediately asked him how many? and he asked the woman herself, who held up three or four of her fingers to indicate the particular number: and when I asked her, Why she had done so? she replied with the greatest apparent indifference, "Piccaninny too much cry!"

tions, under the European colonists; the tribe in actual possession of any favourable locality obliging the supernumeraries, or weaker members of its body, to swarm off from time to time, and find a new country for themselves. War and the spirit of adventure may doubtless have contributed to the speedier and more extensive occupation of the country; but when actual possession has been secured in any of these ways, the right which it is supposed to imply is universally respected by the natives, except in cases of actual hostility.

The territory of each tribe is subdivided, moreover, among the different families of which it consists, and the proprietor of any particular subdivision has the exclusive right to direct when it shall be hunted over, or the grass burned, and the wild animals destroyed; for although there is always a general assembly of the tribe, and sometimes of neighbouring tribes, on such occasions, the entertainment is supposed to be provided exclusively by the proprietor of the land, who is accordingly master of the ceremonies. When Moreton Bay was a penal settlement, a convict of the name of Baker escaped to the woods, and became naturalized and domiciliated among a tribe of black natives in the upper Brisbane district. The natives recognised, or supposed they recognised, in the runaway, a deceased native of the tribe, who had died some time before, of the name of Boraltchou, and who they supposed had reappeared in the person of the white man; and although the convict, who, it seems, did not relish the compliment, maintained that he was not Boraltchou, the natives, who knew better, as they had seen both, insisted that he was, *and allotted to him as his own property the portion of land that had belonged to the real Boraltchou.*

Each of these tribes is under a distinct chief, whose dignity, however, is rather equivocal, and whose position, as well as the way in which it is obtained, resembles pretty much that of the chiefs of the ancient Germans, as described by Tacitus. Heroism and success in battle, and not supposed hereditary rights, constitute the only title to chieftainship recognized by the aborigines, and the influence and authority of the chief are acknowledged only in time of war. When Moreton Bay was a penal settlement, and the country at some distance from Brisbane very little known, Moppy, a chief or influential native of the tribe in

which Baker had been naturalised, happened to visit Brisbane; and in order, as he conceived, to conciliate his tribe, the commandant, among other marks of favour bestowed on him, caused a brass plate to be made for him, to be suspended on his breast by a chain of the same material hung round his neck, as is frequently done in New South Wales, with the inscription, *Moppy, king of the Upper Brisbane Tribe.* The rest of the tribe could not, of course, read the inscription on the plate, but being shrewd enough to discover that it had a meaning, they requested the supposed Boraltchou to explain to them what it meant. And when he told them that it signified that Moppy was their master, and that they were all his servants, they got into a prodigious *taking* at his supposed usurpation of kingly authority over themselves, as free and independent natives of Australia, and insisted that Moppy should carry back the plate to the commandant, under pain of death. It would seem, therefore, that their form of government is rather democratical than patriarchal or kingly. Their internal polity, however, is far from being arbitrary, being very much regulated by certain traditionary laws and institutions, of which the obligation is imperative upon all, and the breach of which is uniformly punished with death.

The only articles to which they attach the notion of personal property are their land, their wives and children, their arms, and their implements for hunting and fishing.

The conjugal relation is maintained by them with great decency and propriety, every family having its own separate hut and fire. They are remarkably fond of their children, and the idea of whipping a child, or thwarting its wayward inclinations in any way, appears monstrous to the natives, as does also the practice of Europeans in this particular. The wife, indeed, is rather the drudge or slave, than the companion of her husband. The lending of wives to one another is occasionally practised, as it was even among the ancient Romans, and the prostitution of their women to Europeans is, I am sorry to say, but too frequent on the part of their lords and masters.

Marriage is generally contracted with the consent of the relatives of the parties, and the sanction of the tribe, and it is never contracted between near relatives. At Limestone, now Ipswich, the parties join hands in the presence of the tribe. A native

sometimes steals a jin or wife from a strange tribe, which usually leads to reprisals and ends in war; but the idea that courtship among the aborigines of Australia consists generally, or even frequently, in simply knocking down the female and dragging her away by the hair, is a mere calumny upon the race, as silly and incredible as it is injurious. Instances of savage cruelty to their females are by no means rare, especially when under the influence of European rum; but instances also of warm and deep affection are not unfrequent. My brother was crossing one of the tributaries of the Hunter a few years ago, in a boat in which there was an old grey-headed native who had just been away burying his wife, and the tears were chasing each other down the poor old desolate man's cheeks, in a manner quite affecting to behold.

Generally speaking, they exhibit a good disposition towards white men, and the instances in which they have received and treated in the kindest manner solitary Europeans, who were completely in their power, are numerous and unquestionable.* Like all other barbarous nations, they are very revengeful; and considering all white men, as they uniformly do, as of the same tribe, they not unfrequently visit upon innocent persons, in the way of reprisal, injuries they have received from other white men, perhaps at a great distance off. In this way the aborigines are frequently charged as the aggressors, in cases in which they conceive they are only taking the requisite satisfaction for injuries committed either on themselves or on others of their nation. A person of the name of John Brown, a half-caste Anglo-Indian from Calcutta, who had been for some time (I presume as an emancipated convict) at Moreton Bay, being bound on an expedition along the coast to the northward, seized and carried off with him in his boat, two black jins, or native women, from the neighbourhood of Brisbane. The circumstance, as well as the place of Brown's destination, was immediately reported to

* Pamphlet and his two shipwrecked companions, the real discoverers of the Brisbane River, had been about five months among the natives of the Pumice Stone River, or Bribie's Island passage; and Pamphlet observes, in the conclusion of the narrative of his shipwreck, "Their behaviour to me and my companions had been so invariably kind and generous that, notwithstanding the delight I felt at the idea of once more returning to my home, I did not leave them without sincere regret."

the natives at Amity Point, on Stradbroke Island, and by them to those on Moreton Island, some of whom carried the tidings across the northern entrance of the Bay to Bribie's Island, from whence the report was conveyed along the coast towards Wide Bay, where Brown and his party, with the exception of the two black women, were all murdered as soon as they landed.

Like all other barbarous people, the aborigines of Australia are remarkably indolent, and seldom exert themselves in any way, unless when forced to do so from the pressure of hunger, and as they uniformly feast till all is gone when they have an abundant supply of food, they are not unfrequently put to their shifts, especially in the interior, where, at times, food is comparatively difficult to procure. The native stomach, however, is by no means fastidious. Fish of all kinds, including the turtle, the yungan, and various kinds of shell-fish; kangaroos, wallabies, opossums, iguanas, birds, and snakes; wild honey, which is very abundant, the native fig, the bunya-fruit, and several kinds of berries; roots of different kinds, particularly one called the *bangwal*, and another called the *Tam*, being a species of yam, and the root of the common fern—all contribute to furnish out their multifarious bill of fare; and when none of these articles can be procured, they have only to pull up the stem of the Xanthorrhœa, or grass-tree, at the decayed root of which they are sure to find a whole colony of fat grubs, of which they are never at a loss to make a hearty meal.

They have a keen perception of the ludicrous and grotesque, and a decided taste for what may be called dry humour, and their talent for mimicry is really wonderful. If there is anything uncommon or *outré* in the appearance or demeanour of any European in the district, as for instance if he is lame, if he has a proud over-bearing manner, or anything peculiar in the tones of his voice, they are sure *to take him off* with the most ludicrous effect. In the older settlements of Australia, the sight of a whole company of black natives — both men and women — in a state of beastly intoxication is, unfortunately, by no means uncommon; but at Moreton Bay they have happily not yet learned to relish ardent spirits, and the sight of a European under their influence affords them the greatest amusement.

The medical practice of the natives is very simple, but by no

means ineffectual; and the instances of speedy and perfect recovery in frightful surgical cases in which Europeans would be sure to lose either life or limb, are truly remarkable. Baker, the supposed Boraltchou, had a rheumatic fever when living among the aborigines; for which he was first *champooed*, in pretty much the same way as is done in India, then immersed in a water-hole, and afterwards laid out in the sun to dry. After this he was walked about a little and then felt quite recovered. May not this be the origin of the practice usual in baths in India and the East generally, for the refreshment and relief of persons fatigued by travelling or suffering under great lassitude; and if so, may it not have originated among the Papuan race, when their home was on the continent of Asia? At all events, there is no reason to believe that the latter borrowed it from any other people. A variolous disease, somewhat similar to the small-pox, which has occasionally prevailed among the natives in various parts of the older colony, from its very commencement, happened to prevail among the tribe in which Baker was domiciliated, and proved fatal in many instances. The natives ascribe this disease to the influence of Budyah, an evil spirit who delights in mischief. Baker, however, had been vaccinated, and did not take the disease; for although the medical men of the colony are of opinion that it is a different disease from the small-pox, that wonderful specific appears to be equally effectual in preventing its access. The natives, however, could not be aware of this, and accordingly observed that "Budyah had no power against Boraltchou, and could do him no injury." In this disease, also, the natives practise *hydropathy*, or the *water-cure*, placing the patient in water just as Preissnitz—the German hydropathist—would recommend.

From their manner of living, and especially from their always having a fire burning on the bare ground in front of their miserable huts, close to where they sleep, they are peculiarly subject to accidents from fire. Their feet are often burnt severely, and sometimes other parts of their bodies.

Internal diseases are uniformly ascribed to witchcraft or sorcery. Some black fellow, it is alleged, ill-disposed towards the patient, has swallowed a stone or bone, and vomiting it up again, has spit it out at him, a process which is sure to make him ill,

if not to kill him. The wizard is supposed, moreover, to possess the power of conveying himself under ground to the object of his deadly malice; and when the charge of witchcraft is thus fixed upon a particular individual by the supposed injured party, he is given up to death by his own tribe, and no injury is inflicted on the avenger of blood who puts him to death. A native of Boraltchou's tribe having died, his brother fixed the supposed crime of causing his death upon on old man of a neighbouring tribe, whom, in his quest for blood, he found up a tree. Waiting till the old man came down, he seized him, placed his head between his own legs, and twisted it round till he died. He then placed the body in a sitting posture, with the back towards the tree, and went and told the rest of the tribe what he had done, and where they would find the old man's body, to be disposed of as they should think fit. Nothing was done to this murderer, who was permitted to return to his own tribe as a matter of course.

The skin of a dead man, placed either under or over the patient, is supposed to be a powerful specific against sorcery or witchcraft, in cases of disease. A few months after Davies, or Darumboy, a runaway convict, who was recovered from the natives by Mr. Andrew Petrie, at Wide Bay, after having lived among them for fourteen years, had joined the tribe in which he was so long naturalised, he was seized with some slight ailment, and lay extended for some time in considerable pain, in the hut of the native family to which he belonged. The natives sympathised with him in his illness as they could, and an old damsel in particular, in the height of her sympathy, brought out from her repositories the skin of a deceased native, and extended it over him. But the sight of this object, which, it seems, he had never seen before — the ears being still attached to the black hairy scalp, and the very finger-nails adhering in horrible order to the skin of the hand — struck such horror and affright into the mind of Davies, that he immediately forgot his ailment, and started up perfectly recovered.

But the most frequent specific employed by the natives in the case of internal disease, is the following. Proceeding on the supposition that the patient is under the influence of sorcery on the part of some hostile or ill-disposed black fellow of some other tribe, his wife or sister, or mother, or other female relative (for it is

generally a female who officiates on such occasions), undertakes to deliver him from the malign influence by a sort of incantation, in the efficacy of which they have unbounded confidence. For this purpose, the patient being extended on his back, and a narrow belt of opossum or flying squirrel's skin, which the natives usually wear round their body, partly for ornament and partly as a girdle to fix some implement or weapon in, being bound round his body or head, according as either the one or the other is affected, and a pitcher with some water in it being placed beside him, the operator takes a mouthful of water, and seizing the end of the belt with both hands, rubs it violently along her gums till the blood flows; ever and anon spitting out the blood either into the pitcher, or into a small hole dug in the ground to receive it. Under this process the disease or malign influence is supposed to pass out of the body of the patient along the belt into the mouth of the operator, who spits it out with the blood; the attendants chanting all the while —

Daggar mudlo yacca,	The stranger has bewitched him,
Daggar weng,	The stranger is a bad fellow,
Daggar bumma.	Beat the stranger.

Occasionally the aboriginal practitioners blow upon the patient as strongly as they can; but for what specific purpose I have not been able to ascertain. Frequently, also, the exorcist of the district pretends, with great grimace, and a lengthy but not very interesting ceremonial, to extract from the body of the patient the stone or bone which the sorcerer has in some mysterious manner conveyed into it, and which occasions the disease; but the reader will doubtless be of opinion that if any beneficial effects should ever result from any of these singular modes of treatment, it must be owing entirely to the influence exercised on the imagination of the patient.

The ceremonial observed in Queensland in making Kippers, as it is called, or initiating youths into the society of men, is nearly identical with that described by Captain Collins, as having been practised by the natives in the vicinity of Sydney, shortly after the first settlement of the colony. The identity of the ceremonial may be inferred even from the name given it by Captain C., viz. *kebarra*, from *kebah*, a stone; although the initiated in Queensland have not to submit to the loss of one of their front teeth, as

is still the case in New South Wales. It is a trial of patience, of strength, and of endurance, and reminds one not a little of the ceremonial of the middle ages, practised at the admission of knights. It has occurred to me, although it may probably be a mere fancy, that there may have been some common origin for the mystery which the Australian aborigines still attach to a particular stone or kebah, which no female or European is allowed to see, and the mysterious Caaba of the idolatrous Arabs previous to the era of Mahomet.

Nay, utterly incredible as it may seem, there is, nevertheless, pretty good reason to believe that the mysterious ceremonies in use among the aborigines, for the initiation of young men into the society and immunities of their elders — ceremonies, which it is death for any female to witness—are nothing, more nor less, than the Australian edition of the ancient institution of Freemasonry, and, as such, one of the evidences of an extinct and long-forgotten civilisation. Mr. Stuart, the zealous and successful discoverer of much eligible country to the northward of the colony of South Australia, came in contact, about latitude 20° in central Australia, with a tribe of black natives, with whom, to his own utter astonishment, he exchanged the masonic signs, and established the bond of common brotherhood which they imply. The following is an extract of his journal on the occasion :—

"*June* 23, 1860. In about half an hour, two other young men approached the camp. Thinking they might be in want of water, and afraid to come to it on account of the horses, I sent Ben with a tin-dishful, which they drank. They were very young men, and much frightened, and would not come near. About an hour before sundown the first that came returned, bringing with them three others. Two were powerful, tall, good-looking young men, and as fine ones as I have yet seen. They had a hat or helmet on their heads, which looked very neat, fitted close to the brow, rising straight up to a rounded peak, three or four inches above the head, and gradually becoming narrower towards the back part. The outside is network; the inside is composed of feathers, very tightly bound with cord, until it is as hard as a piece of wood. It may be used as a protection against the sun; or armour for the battle-field. One of them had a great many scars upon him, and seemed to be a leading man. Two only had helmets on; the

others had pieces of netting bound round their foreheads. One was an old man, and seemed to be the father of the two young men. He was very talkative, but I could make nothing of him. I endeavoured to obtain from him where the next water was, by signs and so on. After talking some time, and he talking to his sons, *he turned round and astonished me by giving me a masonic sign. I looked at him steadily; he repeated it, as did also his two sons. I returned it, which seemed to please them much. The old man then patted me on the shoulder, stroked my head, and they took their departure, making friendly signs till out of sight.*"

The identity of the aboriginal Australian race does not imply an absolute identity of manners, customs, and practices all over the continent. Certain customs appear to have become obsolete in particular districts; certain practices have been gradually disused, as being less adapted, perhaps, to the climate or locality. It cannot be doubted, for example, that the practice of losing a tooth at the age of puberty, as well as that of wearing a stone, a bone, or piece of wood, in the perforation of the *septum narium*, and of cutting off the two lower joints of the little finger in women—all of which are still found among the natives of New South Wales, although the first is unknown and the others now rarely practised in Queensland—were ancient and universal customs and practices of the race; one of them at least, the wearing of an ornament in the *septum narium*, being still observable in the Papuan islands of the Western Pacific.

The same differences, evidently suggested by the climate, and the habits and pursuits of the natives of different districts, respectively, are observable in the habitations of the aborigines. Where the nature of the country, as well as their own inclinations, binds the natives to a migratory life, as in New South Wales and in Victoria, as well as in the interior generally, a mere break-wind, composed of a few bushes, or of a few pieces of bark, arranged in a triangular form around two or three small saplings stuck in the ground, constitutes their miserable dwelling. But in localities in which the great abundance of fish of all kinds, and especially shell-fish, in addition to fruits, roots, birds, and land-animals, affords constant subsistence for a more settled population—as at Port Macquarie, the Clarence River, and Moreton

Bay—the native huts, when they were first seen by Europeans, were really of a superior character for aboriginal dwellings. The following is the description which Captain Flinders gives of the native huts he found at Shoal Bay, at the mouth of the Clarence River, and on the shores of Moreton Bay, in the year 1799. I fear there are no such huts to be found in either of these localities now; for one of the first effects of the introduction of European civilisation, in the persons of white men, into any part of the Australian territory, is to extinguish everything like incipient civilisation among the aborigines.

"They (the huts at Shoal Bay) were of a circular form, and about eight feet in diameter. The frame was composed of the strongest tendrils of the vine, crossing each other in all directions, and bound together by strong wiry grass at the principal intersections. The covering was of bark, of a soft texture, resembling the bark of what is called the tea-tree at Port Jackson, and so compactly laid on as to keep out the wind and rain. The entrance was by a small avenue projecting from the periphery of the circumference, not leading directly into the hut, but turning sufficiently to prevent the rain from beating in. The height of the under part of the roof is about four and a half or five feet, and those that were entered had collected a coat of soot, from the fires which had been made in the middle of the huts. They much resemble an oven. One of them was a double hut, comprising two recesses under one entrance, intended, most probably, for kindred families, being large enough to contain twelve or fifteen people. Bungaree (a native of Port Jackson) readily admitted that they were much superior to any huts of the natives which he had before seen."*

Again, speaking of Moreton Bay, he thus writes:—

"Five or six huts, from twelve to fifteen feet in length, were seen standing near each other. They resembled a covered archway, round at the far end. The roofs, and the manner of securing them, were nearly the same as those which they had seen in Shoal Bay; but these had not any covered entrance to keep out

* Account of the English Colony in New South Wales. By David Collins, Esq., late Judge-Advocate and Secretary of the Colony. 2 vols. London, 1798 and 1802. Vol. ii. p. 228.

the weather, nor was the hut any smaller in that part than elsewhere; but the sides and roof were equally calculated to shelter the inhabitants from a storm."*

At Cape Tribulation, near the northern extremity of the land, the huts of the aborigines were observed by Captain King, R.N., to be thatched with palm leaves, and at Cape Cleaveland (latitude 19°) with grass and leaves. At Port Macquarie, when the European settlement in that locality was first formed, the native huts were found capable of containing eight or ten persons, and were constructed with an ingenious regard to the comfort of the inmates; the aperture opening to the land side, to screen them from the cold sea-breeze.

The following are notices of a similar kind by Sir Thomas Mitchell:—

"In crossing one hollow [on the Gwydir River] we passed among the huts of a native tribe; these were tastefully distributed amongst drooping acacias and casuarinæ; some resembled bowers under yellow fragrant mimosæ, some were isolated under the deeper shades of casuarinæ; while others were placed more socially, three or four huts together, fronting to one and the same fire. Each was semicircular, or circular, the roof conical, and from one side a flat roof stood forward like a portico, supported by two sticks. Most of these were close to the trunk of a tree, and they were covered, not as in other parts, by sheets of bark, but with a variety of materials, such as reeds, grass, and boughs. The interior of each looked clean, and to us passing in the rain, gave some idea not only of shelter, but even of comfort and happiness. They afforded a favourable specimen of the taste of the jins, whose business it usually is to construct the huts. The village of bowers also occupied more space than the encampments of native tribes in general; choice shady spots seemed to have been an object, and had been chosen with care."—Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c., by Sir T. L. Mitchell, F.G.S. and F.R.G.S., Surveyor-General of New South Wales, vol. i. p. 77.

"There were also permanent huts on both banks [of the river Darling] the first of the kind I had seen; these were large enough

* *Ubi supra*, p. 236.

certainly to contain fifteen persons, and in one there had recently been a fire; they were semicircular, and formed of branches of trees, well thatched with straw, and forming altogether a covering of about a foot in thickness: these afforded a ready and dry shelter for a whole family, in bad weather for instance, and the inhabitants may be considered somewhat before their brethren further eastward, as rational beings. These permanent huts seemed also to indicate a race of more peaceful and settled habits, for where the natives are often at war, such habitations could neither be permanent nor safe."—Ibid. i. 238.

I have already noticed the superior construction of the canoes of the aborigines on the north coast towards the eastern extremity of the land. But even those of an inferior description on other parts of the coast exhibit considerable variety in their form and character. At Rosemary Island, the canoe is a mere log of wood, or one log with two others fastened to its opposite ends, on which the navigator sits astride, paddling with his hands, and resting his feet upon the end of the log. And at Hanover Bay, Captain King also observed a catamaran, or float, composed of five mangrove stems, lashed together to a piece of smaller wood, employed to carry two natives, besides their spears and baskets.

There are differences in the weapons used by the aborigines on different parts of the coast, as in the form of the shield, which at Endeavour River is of a crescent shape, and painted with black stripes, and in the use of the *womerah* or throwing-stick in certain localities, while in others it is unknown; but I esteem it of more importance to observe, that at Rockingham Bay, on the east coast, in lat. 18° S., Captain King describes the method of cooking practised by the natives, in the following terms:—"A circular hole is dug, at the bottom of which is placed a layer of flat stones, on which, after they have been heated by fire, the meat is placed; this is covered by another layer of stones, and over them they make a fire, which very soon cooks their repast."* Now, as this is the method of cookery in universal use among the fair or Polynesian race of the South Sea Islands, it becomes an interesting

* Narrative of a Survey of the Inter-tropical and Western Coasts of Australia, performed between the years 1818 and 1822, by Captain P. King, R.N., F.R.S., F.L.S., &c., London, 1826, vol. ii. 203. Sir Thomas Mitchell mentions the same practice among the aborigines to the Southward *in the far west.*

question to ascertain by which of the two races it was first practised or invented. And I confess I am strongly inclined to believe that the honour of this invention ought to be ascribed rather to the Papuan than to the Polynesian race. The former is unquestionably the more ancient race, at least in the Indian Archipelago and the Western Pacific, in which both races have been existing contemporaneously for many ages past; and if the Papuan race had borrowed the practice in question from the Polynesian, previous to their discovery and occupation of Australia, it is the only instance that I am aware of, of their having borrowed anything from that quarter. It is by no means difficult to account for the general disuse of this practice among the tribes to the southward; for it seems much less suited to the character of the country, and the scantier supply of food in Australia, than to the more fertile islands of the South Sea.

I had not been long in New South Wales when I had reason to believe, that some such doctrine as the famous oriental doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, was generally received and held among the aborigines. In talking on the subject, however, with a number of intelligent persons throughout the colony, I found that it was the general belief of such persons, that the idea had originated with their convict-servants, who, with no object whatever but merely to practise on the credulity of the natives, had persuaded them, in the convict-slang of the times, that "black fellows, when they died, would *jump up*, or rise again, white fellows, and that white fellows would *jump up* black fellows." I was satisfied with this explanation for a time; but I found, at length, that it was not satisfactory, as at different periods in the history of the colony, and in widely distant localities, particular white men had been recognised (or, at least, supposed to be so) by the blacks, as deceased black men, whom they knew and named, returned to life again; and the feelings with which they were known to regard such persons convinced me that the idea had not originated with the convicts at all. Shortly after the first settlement of New South Wales, a runaway convict, of the name of Wilson, who had lived for years among the aborigines, was supposed, by the tribe in which he was naturalised, to be a particular deceased native, whom it seems he resembled, and whose mother was then living, returned to life

again. The poor old woman believed it herself, and adopted the runaway as her son; and as Wilson, who, it appears, was an artful fellow, found it his interest to keep up the delusion, he was at no pains to undeceive her.

In September, 1790, five convicts seized a small boat, with the intention of escaping, if possible, from the colony; but after suffering much hardship and privation, they were at length driven ashore at Port Stephen, about 100 miles to the northward of Sydney. They were kindly received by the natives, and, as Colonel Collins informs us, on their own authority,—for it appears they were discovered, and brought back to Sydney, several years thereafter—"they were never required to go out on any occasion of hostility, and were, in general, supplied by the natives with fish, or other food. They told us that the natives appeared to worship them, often assuring them, when they began to understand each other, that they were, undoubtedly, the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again; and one native appeared firmly to believe, that his father was come back in the person of either Lee or Connoway (two of the number), and took him to the spot where his body had been burned. On being told that immense numbers of people existed far beyond their little knowledge, they instantly pronounced them to be the spirits of their countrymen, which, after death, had migrated into other regions."*

I happened, from time to time, to hear of individual cases of the same kind, in various parts of New South Wales, particularly at the Wollombi, in the district of Hunter's River, and in the Cow-pasture district to the southward of Sydney; but, as I was not then aware of the case mentioned by Collins, the subject made no particular impression on my mind. On touching, however, at King George's Sound, in the colony of Swan River, on my fifth voyage from England to New South Wales, in the year 1837, my attention was strongly directed to the subject once more, on being informed, by various persons of respectable standing in that colony, that the same idea prevailed among the black natives

* Account of the English Colony of New South Wales. By David Collins, Esq., late Judge-Advocate and Secretary of the Colony. London: 1798. Page 426.

there also; and that a person at Swan River had actually been pointed out by the aborigines as one of themselves—a particular native then deceased, whom, it seems, he resembled—returned to life again. The prevalence of so very singular a superstition, on the opposite shores of Australia, appeared to me not only to prove the absolute identity of the race, on both sides of the continent, but to indicate some common and mysterious origin for the superstition itself; and in this opinion I was confirmed, on learning, afterwards, that it was equally prevalent among the aborigines of Victoria—a particular individual, then residing at Melbourne, having been pointed out, with the utmost confidence, by the aborigines of that district, as one of their own nation, who had died some time before, come to life again. On my visit to Moreton Bay, the cases of Baker, or Boraltchou, and Davies, or Darumboy (with which I was made acquainted quite incidentally, and which were both precisely of the same character), awakened my curiosity still further, and added to my perplexity, when endeavouring to account for a fact in ethnology so exceedingly remarkable. I am satisfied, however, that I have been enabled, through the latter of these individuals, to discover the real origin of the apparent mystery, and perhaps also to throw a little additional light on what I have uniformly regarded, for these thirty-five years and upwards, since I first landed on the shores of Australia, as the darkest and most difficult chapter in the history of man,—I refer to the moral phenomena presented to philosophy and religion generally, in the circumstances and condition of the Papuan race.

James Davies is the son of a Scotch blacksmith, who followed his calling first in the Old Wynd, and afterwards at the Broomielaw, in the city of Glasgow, about forty years ago. The father brought up his son to his own business, but the latter turned out a bad character, and was transported to New South Wales, per the ship Minstrel, in the year 1824, being only sixteen years of age at the time. His transportation, however, does not seem to have reformed him in any degree, for he was again transported for some colonial misdeed to the Penal Settlement at Moreton Bay. He was there employed at the forge along with another young man in similar circumstances. The commandant at Moreton Bay at that period was Captain Logan, of the 57th Regiment,

who, as I have already observed, being very zealous in the cause of geographical discovery, and accustomed to take long solitary excursions into the wild bush, was at length unfortunately murdered by the black natives, probably in revenge for some act of aggression committed upon themselves, by one or other of the convicts under his charge. Captain Logan was a strict and rather severe disciplinarian, and so liberal in the application of the lash, that Davies and his companion, fearing that it might shortly be their turn to be flogged, although they had never been punished in the settlement, absconded, and "took to the bush." Proceeding to the northward, they soon fell in with a numerous tribe of black natives, by whom they were kindly received, and treated with the utmost hospitality; Davies being recognised as one of their own number, who had died, or been killed some time before, returned to life again. Davies is by no means good-looking as a white man; and I was not surprised at the natives fancying he was a second *cwatar*, or incarnation of one of themselves. The name of the native whom he was supposed to represent had been Darumboy, and this was thenceforth his native name. The recognition of the supposed relationship was attended, in the first instance, with lamentations, mingled with rejoicing; and Davies was immediately adopted by the parents of Darumboy, who were still alive, and regularly supplied with fish in abundance, and any other description of provisions they happened to possess.

The tribe in which Davies and his companion were thus naturalised, had their usual place of habitation (if such a phrase can be used with propriety in reference to a migratory people, who never stay more than a few nights in any one place),* at a considerable distance in the interior, although they occasionally

* "Black-fellow no like stay long one place," was the reply once made to me by one of the black natives when I was expostulating with him on the migratory propensities of his race. The language employed by the poet Virgil in regard to the inhabitants of the unseen world would not be inapplicable to the aborigines of Australia:—

> Nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis,
> Riparumque toros, et prata recentia rivis
> Incolimus.—VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 675.

> In no fix'd place the happy souls reside;
> In groves we live, and lie on mossy beds
> By crystal streams that murmur through the meads.
>
> DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

visited the coast to vary their usual sustenance and mode of life by fishing; and it was on one of these occasional visits to the coast that Davies was found and brought back to civilised society, as I have already stated, by Mr. Andrew Petrie, after he had been upwards of fourteen years among the natives, and had long given up all thoughts or expectation of ever returning to the society of civilised men. His companion, however, had in the meantime, and when they had both been only a short period among the natives, fallen a victim to his ignorance of the native superstitions. For the tribe being on the coast, and encamped near some inlet of the sea, where oysters and other shell-fish were abundant, and all that were able being employed in gathering the shell-fish, Davies' companion being in want of a basket or other receptacle for those he had collected, and observing a *dilly* or native basket (which is usually formed of a strong native grass, very neatly plaited), hanging in the hollow of a tree close by, he took it down, and finding it contained only a quantity of bones, he threw them out, and filled the dilly with oysters. These bones, however, were those of a deceased native of the tribe which had thus, in conformity to the native usage in such cases, been solemnly deposited in their last resting-place; and the deed which the white man had done quite unconsciously in removing them and throwing them out, was regarded by the natives as the greatest sacrilege, and punishable only with death. The unfortunate young man was accordingly surprised and killed very shortly thereafter.

Davies had on one occasion, sometime thereafter, very nearly fallen a victim himself to the ferocity of the natives. In their natural state they have domesticated the dingo or native dog of the colony, and every tribe is accompanied in all its wanderings by a number of these creatures, which assist them in hunting the bandicoot and opossum, and which are generally half-starved, lean and mangy, so that "as lean as a black fellow's dog" is the usual colonial *simile* for extreme poverty. They are very fond of these animals, however, especially the women, who not unfrequently suckle the puppies along with their children. Darumboy's native mother had a favourite of this kind (as is not uncommon among her sex even in more civilised countries), which Davies by some means accidentally killed. The loss of

this animal excited the bad passions of the old savage to the highest degree, and perhaps led her to suspect the reality of the white man's relationship to her family; for she actually instigated her husband to murder Darumboy in revenge for the loss of her dog! This, it seems, the old man was not indisposed to do; for, scowling at Davies, and working himself up into a frenzy of passion at him, he told him he was not Darumboy, but *Mawgooy*, a spirit or ghost, which he intended, of course, as a term of great reproach. At all events Davies saw that his life was no longer in safety, and that his only security lay in putting the old black fellow in bodily fear of him. So being a short, stout, powerful man, he "turned to," as he termed it, and gave the old savage a sound beating—I presume with his fists, which he had probably learned to use at the Broomielaw, and which even the savage, who had no idea of such close quarters, was not accustomed to use in that way, preferring a stick or club like the natives of the Green Isle. Having thus effectually subdued the old man, he exerted himself for some time thereafter in procuring a liberal supply of food for the family; and by this means he conciliated their affections once more, and succeeded in keeping the peace. In regard to the word *Mawgooy*, I may mention, as an additional illustration of the singular diversity of languages among the aborigines of Australia, that it is not known among another tribe of black natives whom Davies visited, considerably farther northward; the word *there* for the ghost of a man being *Mutker*, and for that of a woman *Tarcan*. The synonyme for a ghost in another tribe which he visited was *Balooyeh*.

I met with Davies quite accidentally at a squatter's station, on the Pine River, where he arrived on one of the evenings I was there, along with four black natives. He was then in the performance of a most benevolent action. For a person of the name of Thomson having gone some time before, along with his wife and three men, in a boat, on an expedition to the northward, where a vessel had been wrecked on the coast, in the expectation of finding something valuable at the wreck, and having never returned —there was a report in circulation in Brisbane, that the four men had all been murdered by the black natives, and that the woman was still alive among them. Davies had known the parties, and commiserating the case of the poor woman, he had

generously offered to proceed to the spot, a distance of about 250 miles, and to bring her back, or ascertain the truth concerning her. We all felt very much interested in the object; and as Darumboy struck into the forest, with his gun over his shoulder, and a kangaroo-dog in a leash by his side, followed in Indian file by the four black fellows, I believe each offered a silent prayer to the Almighty for their success. Not to return to the subject, I may add, that Davies having proceeded to the spot where the murder was said to have happened, ascertained that the report had been unfounded—the boat having swamped, and all on board having perished before reaching the land.

During his residence among the black fellows, Davies had travelled as far, he thought, as 500 miles to the northward of Moreton Bay; being passed along from tribe to tribe, like a blind man soliciting charity, from one farm-house to another, in Scotland. By every tribe, however, which he visited in his journey, he was uniformly taken for a deceased native returned to life again; and his arrival among any tribe that had never seen a white man before, was generally an event of intense interest to the natives. They would gather around him in a crowd, and gaze at him for a time apparently in silent awe and veneration—endeavouring to discover some likeness between him and any particular deceased native whom they supposed he resembled, asking him whether he was not that native come to life again. And when any such resemblance was recognised, the relatives of the deceased, if not at hand, were apprised of the fact, and a scene of mingled lamentation and rejoicing, such as one might anticipate in such circumstances, immediately succeeded; the relations of the deceased native cutting themselves with shells or sharp-edged weapons till the blood would stream down, and the supposed dead man come to life again being thenceforth treated with the very best the tribe could furnish. On some occasions, however, the black natives could not discover any resemblance between the white stranger and any of their deceased friends, and in these cases the *onus probandi*, in regard to the identity of his person was thrown upon himself, as in such instances he was usually asked who he had been, or what had been his name when he was a black fellow, and before he died. This was rather a difficult question for Davies to answer, without getting himself

into scrapes, either by betraying his ignorance of the nomenclature of the tribe, or by exhibiting no resemblance to the individual whom he might otherwise have pretended to personate. I could not help admiring, therefore, the ingenuity with which he extricated himself out of this dilemma—for, being naturally remarkably shrewd and intelligent, his uniform answer in such cases was, that it was so long since he died, that he had quite forgotten what name he had had when he was a black man*; and with this answer the simple natives were always satisfied.

But the manner in which the aborigines of the northern districts generally dispose of the dead, appeared to me to be the most important point on which the evidence of Davies could be brought to bear; and it will doubtless be horrifying to the reader to learn from that evidence, corroborated as it is by independent and unquestionable testimony, that in that part of Queensland the bodies of the dead, whether they fall in battle or die a natural death, are, with the exception of the bodies of old men and women, uniformly eaten by the survivors. The fights of the aborigines are frequent, and occasionally bloody; and on such occasions, the dead, of both parties of the combatants, are carried off, skinned, roasted and eaten by their respective friends! Davies had seen as many as ten or twelve dead bodies brought off by one of the parties engaged, after one of these fights, all of which were skinned, roasted, and eaten by the survivors. And when I observed that so large a quantity of human flesh could not surely be consumed at once, he replied, that there were so many always assembled on such occasions, that the bodies of the dead were cut up and eaten in a twinkling, there being scarcely a morsel for each.

* It is singular enough that Darumboy should thus have been unconsciously guided, under the spur of necessity, to one of the leading principles of the ancient metempsychosis, or doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

> "Tum pater Anchises: Animæ, quibus altera fato
> Corpora debentur, Lethæi ad fluminis undam
> Securos latices et longa oblivia potant."
>
> VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 715.

Which I would do into English as follows:—

> The souls, Anchises said, that here await
> Their future bodies, as ordained by Fate,
> Must drink, in copious draughts at Lethe's stream,
> A long oblivion of their past life's dream.

When the dead body of a person who has either fallen in battle, or has died a natural death, is to be subjected to this horrid process, it is stretched out on its back, and a fire lighted on each side of it. Firebrands are then passed carefully over the whole body, till its entire surface is thoroughly scorched. The cuticle, consisting of the epidermis or scarfskin, and the *reticulum mucosum*, or mucous membrane of Malpighi, in which the colouring matter of the skin is contained, is then peeled off, sometimes with pointed sticks, sometimes with muscle-shells, and sometimes even with the finger nails, and then placed in a basket or dilly to be preserved. And as the *cutis vera*, or true skin, is, in all varieties of the human family, perfectly white, the corpse then appears of that colour all over; and I have no doubt whatever, that it is this peculiar and ghastly appearance which the dead body of a black man uniformly assumes under this singular treatment, and with which the aborigines must be quite familiar wherever the practice obtains, that has suggested to them the idea that white men are merely their forefathers returned to life again; the supposition that particular white men are particular deceased natives, known to the Aborigines when alive, being merely this idea carried out to its natural result, under the influence of a heated imagination. There is reason also to believe, *e converso*, that wherever this idea prevails, the practice in which it has originated—that of peeling off the cuticle previous to the other parts of the process to be described hereafter—is still prevalent also, or has been so, at least, very recently.

After the dead body has been subjected to the process of scorching with firebrands, it becomes so very stiff as almost to be capable of standing upright of itself. If the subject happens to be a male, the subsequent part of the process is performed by females, but if a female, it is performed by males. The body is then extended upon its face, and certain parties, who have been hitherto sitting apart in solemn silence (for the whole affair is conducted with the stillness of a funeral solemnity), step forward, and with a red pigment, which shows very strongly upon the white ground, draw lines down the back and along the arms from each shoulder down to the wrist. These parties then retire, and others who have previously been sitting apart in solemn silence, step forward in like manner, and with sharp shells cut through the

cutis vera, or true skin, along these lines. The entire skin of the body is then stripped off in one piece, including the ears and the finger-nails, with the scalp, but not the skin of the face which is cut off. This whole process is performed with incredible expedition, and the skin is then stretched out on two spears to dry, the process being sometimes hastened, by lighting a fire under the skin. Previous to this operation, however, the skin is restored to its natural colour, by being anointed all over with a mixture of grease and charcoal.

When the body has thus been completely flayed, the dissectors step forward and cut it up. The legs are first cut off at the thighs, then each arm at the shoulder, and last of all the head; not a drop of blood appearing during the process. The larger sections are then subdivided and portioned out among the expectant multitude, each of whom takes his portion to one or other of the fires, and when half-roasted, devours it with great apparent relish. The flesh of the natives in the northern country generally is very fat, and that of children, which are never skinned like adults, particularly so. Davies has often seen a black fellow holding his portion of his fellow-creature's dead body to the fire in one hand, on a branch or piece of wood stuck through it like a fork or skewer, with a shell or hollow piece of bark under it in the other, to receive the melted fat that dropped from it, and drinking it up when he had caught a sufficient quantity to form a draught, with the greatest gusto. In this way the body disappears with incredible rapidity, the bones being very soon cleaned of every particle of flesh.

The bones are then carefully collected, and placed in a dilly or basket, and forwarded by a trusty person to all the neighbouring tribes, in each of which they are mourned over successively, for a time, by those to whom the deceased was known. They are then returned to the tribe to which the deceased belonged, and carried about by his relatives for months, or even years, till at length they are deposited permanently in a hollow tree, from which it is esteemed unpardonable sacrilege, as appears from the fate of Davies' companion, to remove them.

If the deceased has fallen in battle there is no coroner's inquest, so to speak, held on the subject of his death; but if he has died a natural death, in the vigour of youth or manhood, it is

always presumed by the natives that his dissolution has been brought about by some unfair means—by witchcraft or sorcery, of course—and an inquiry into the cause of it is instituted accordingly. With this view the soothsayer or exorcist of the tribe, or some person corresponding to the priest Chalcas in the Grecian army under the walls of Troy (for superstition is remarkably consistent with itself in its development in all ages), carries round the skin, along with certain attendants, with the two spears on which it has been stretched out and dried, in the Corrobbory, or general assembly of the natives, which is always held on these occasions; and stopping at every step, as he comes up to another and another black native in the extended circle, he pretends to ask the skin if this was the man who killed him. If the answer which the skin is alleged to return, and which of course is audible to the soothsayer exclusively, declares the innocence of the individual, the procession passes on, and the question is repeated before the next native. At length there is some unfortunate individual found, whom the skin of the dead man is alleged by the soothsayer to have accused of killing him, and the fact is significantly announced to the Corrobbory, by the soothsayer striking the two spears into the ground, with the skin distended upon them, before the alleged culprit. The latter is thenceforth marked out for death, and though nothing should be done to him at the time, he is sure to be eventually surprised and killed, and his body to be disposed of in the same way. The skins of the deceased are carefully preserved among the tribe, and, as I have already observed, are frequently placed either under or over sick persons, as an effectual specific against witchcraft or sorcery.

The aborigines of Australia are, therefore, decided cannibals; the general mode of disposing of the dead being the one I have described, and the exceptions being merely the cases of old men and women dying of the infirmities of age.* In the latter cases the bodies are either buried, burned, suspended on trees, or left to dissolve into their original elements, in the hollows of trees. Davies acquits the northern natives of infanticide, of which some of those elsewhere are certainly guilty, and denies that they ever put old people to death; their relatives generally providing for

* According to the testimony of Davies, the natives assemble for twenty miles round to be present at one of these feasts upon the dead.

them, and holding them in great reverence. He maintains, also, that they never put any one to death merely for the love of human flesh; but the customs of their country and their race, from time immemorial, render it incumbent upon them, and a sacred duty, to devour the dead bodies of their relatives and friends in the manner I have described: even the dead body of an enemy slain in battle is never eaten by his enemies, but by his own tribe and friends.*

* It is, indeed, curious to observe the different modes of burying adopted by the natives on different rivers. For instance, on the Bogan, they bury in graves covered like our own, and surrounded with curved walls and ornamented ground. On the Lachlan, under lofty mounds of earth, seats being made around. On the Murrumbidgee and Murray, the graves are covered with well-thatched huts, containing dried grass for bedding, and enclosed by a parterre of a particular shape, like the inside of a whale-boat. And on the Darling, the graves are in mounds, covered with dead branches and limbs of trees, and surrounded by a ditch, which here we found encircled by a fence of dead limbs of branches.[a]

It is worthy of observation, however, that Sir Thomas Mitchell unconsciously affords strong corroboration of the account I have given of the practice of the natives on the eastern coast to the northward in devouring the dead, as also of the vast extent of country over which the horrid practice has formerly obtained. Speaking of the country near the junction of the Darling, and the Murray, he observes:—"On reaching the firm ground beyond, we came upon several old graves which had been disturbed, as the bones were seen protruding from the earth. Piper [a black native from the neighbourhood of Bathurst, who accompanied the expedition, and occasionally acted as interpreter] said that *the dead men were sometimes dug up and eaten*, but this I could not believe."[b] I have no doubt, however, that Piper was perfectly in the right.

In regard to the allegation of Davies, that the aborigines never practise cannibalism on the bodies of their enemies, nor kill any person from the mere love of human flesh, there are certainly exceptions to this general rule. The German missionaries having attempted to establish a subsidiary Mission Station at a place called *Umpie Bung*, or the dead-houses, where there had once been a government settlement, now long abandoned, about thirty miles from their head-quarters; the hut they had erected for the purpose was attacked by the natives and broken into, when there was only one of the missionaries, Mr. Hausmann, a lay-brother, in charge of it. Mr. Hausmann was speared and severely wounded, but escaped into the bush, while the natives were busy collecting some flour and other articles of food which they found in the hut, and ultimately made his way to the head station. While they were endeavouring to effect an entrance, however, Mr. H. learned that they had a fire kindled to roast him, and heard them observing to one another, in their own language, that "he was fat and would eat well."

At the same same time, I would not have the reader to suppose that the

[a] Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c. By Sir Thomas Mitchell, F.G.S. and M.R.G.S., Surveyor-General of New South Wales. Vol. ii. p. 113.

[b] Ibid. p. 117.

In one instance, within his own knowledge, the child of a black man and woman having died in the evening, its parents had devoured nearly the whole body by the morning.

At the Corrobbories that are always held on the occasion of these feasts upon the dead, the women chaunt songs or dirges, and strike upon their thighs with the palms of their hands by way of accompaniment. At a station at which I was staying, there were three interesting native girls, about ten or eleven years of age, the grand-daughters of the old chief of the district, who, by way of compliment to me, struck up a song of this kind as they were sitting on a bench close by the door of the house at which I was standing at the time, striking their thighs in the way I have described, and standing up together and leaping and clapping their hands in concert, as they became animated. The cadence was very simple, wild, and melodious, and reminded me strongly of some of the plaintive airs of the Highlands of Scotland.

The following is an account of two cases illustrative of the different modes of disposing of the dead at Moreton Bay, witnessed and described by the Rev. K. W. Schmidt, of the German Mission. It does not appear that the body was eaten in the first instance, the individual having died of an odious disease; but the second case strongly corroborates the account given me by Davies:—

"There are different modes of disposing of the dead. As one instance, a man, who had died of an odious disease, was wrapped up in tea-tree bark, and, after being brought to a solitary spot, was put on a frame-work, which was erected for this purpose, about eight or nine feet high; the place underneath was carefully cleared, and a large fire made close by. Before the corpse was put thereon, three men took it on their shoulders, and after an old man had made a hole in the bark, near the ear, and spoken a few words to the corpse, the men ran in the greatest hurry a short distance, and before leaving the place cried and rubbed their eyes till tears ran down their cheeks. The meaning of the words the

practice of devouring the bodies of the dead, although generally prevalent to the northward, is at all universal in Australia. Even at the Logan River, within Moreton Bay, the dead are generally buried, as an intelligent squatter in that district informed me, and in other parts of the territory they are placed in hollow trees, or suspended in the forks of trees.

old man spoke to the corpse was, 'If thou comest to the other black fellows and they ask thee who killed thee, answer, 'None, but I died.'" This shows plainly that they believe in immortality.

"At another time I witnessed the following ceremony:—A boy of about twelve years of age had died of a liver complaint; the corpse was carried by the father to an open place in the forest, a large number of the tribe being in attendance. Three mourning women cleared the place, on which the father put the corpse, and after the women had made a fire close by, six old men placed themselves around the corpse, and touched it carefully with firebrands; the whole party had placed themselves in a semicircle, and the mother stood at a distance of four or five yards, howling and leaping.

"The six men then plucked off the thin skin, and put it into a small bag, which was handed over to the master. Thereafter the whole corpse, *which naturally looked now quite white*, was blackened with charcoal, and then properly skinned with great expertness, except the hands, feet, and head. The whole skin was likewise put into a dilly, and handed over to the mother. After the shoulders and legs were cut off and carefully roasted, the men left the belly, and the father on opening it and taking out the entrails, observed that the lungs were covered with sores, which he recognised at once as the cause of the death. The ribs, and some part of the entrails were roasted; the rest were put into a little hole, upon which a few sticks were erected, with flowers betwixt them. During this ceremony, all present got up several times, and beat their heads with tomahawks in such an awful manner, that the blood was streaming down their shoulders. The mother stood all the while — about three hours — leaping and howling. The branches of the surrounding trees were then broken, in order to let other people know what had taken place here. Then they returned to the camp, and the parents feasted upon the flesh of their own child, as I was informed next morning by other natives. The skin was afterwards dried on a spear, over a fire."

A further corroboration of the account given by Davies, and perhaps explanatory, also, of the purpose for which the stage mentioned in the first of the two cases described by Mr. Schmidt,

was intended, is contained in the following extract of a newspaper report, by Roderick Mitchell, Esq., one of the Commissioners of Crown lands, for the district of Liverpool Plains, in New South Wales, of an excursion he had taken to the Bolloon River, in the north-western interior of that colony. The locality referred to by Mr. Mitchell is south-west from Brisbane, distant probably about 400 miles.

"The habits of all the natives of this river are of the most disgusting character, involving a refinement upon cannibalism too sickening for your columns. Suffice it to say, that this tribe of blacks carried with them two bodies, from which they had extracted and consumed what is termed the *adipose matter*. When a party dies, a stage is immediately erected, consisting of a sheet of bark, drilled with holes like a sieve, fixed upon three posts. The body is placed upon this, and an opossum cloak being closely wrapped round the upper portion of it, small fires are kept burning at the two ends of the stage, and one underneath it. A large '*coulaman*' receives the matter thus extracted by the heat, and the tribe close round, and greedily consume, and rub their persons with, this horrible extract. After this, the bones and skin are closely wrapped in an opossum cloak, and then rolled in a sheet of freshly-stripped bark. The whole, covered with net-work, is then carried about by the tribe for a considerable time, and is ultimately deposited in some hollow log. Numbers of these stages are to be found on the Bolloon, and high up the Mooni Creek."

It is worthy of remark—as indicative, in all likelihood, of the course which, in one instance at least, the aborigines of Australia have pursued, in their ancient migrations to the southward—that there are a river and a creek, or chain of ponds in the country visited by Mr. Mitchell, on the occasion referred to in the report from which the preceding paragraph is extracted, distinguished respectively by the same native names as another river and creek, nearly a thousand miles distant, in the colony of Victoria. The *Barwan* River, in the north-western interior, has been identified with the Darling, the general receptacle of the western waters that flow by the river Murray into the Great Southern Ocean; and the *Mooni* Creek is one of the tributaries of that river. But in the colony of Victoria we find another

Barwon River, flowing into the Southern Ocean, near Geelong, and another *Moonee* Creek, or chain of ponds, near Melbourne. Now, as the proper names of the aborigines are always significant, and descriptive of the natural features or qualities of the localities to which they are applied, it is evident that the language originally spoken by the natives of these localities in Victoria must have been identical with that of the aborigines of the country visited by Mr. Mitchell, a thousand miles distant; and the only explanation of the fact I can suggest is, that the Victoria country was originally occupied by a tribe of aborigines that had swarmed off from the tribes inhabiting the country at the sources of the Darling, and following down that river to the Murray, into which it disembogues, had afterwards ascended the latter river to the junction of the Goulburn, and proceeded up that stream to the southward and eastward to Port Phillip, where they at length gave the well-known names of the interior to the river and creek of the new region.*

From the extensive prevalence of the horrific practice I have been detailing among the aborigines of Australia, it cannot be doubted that it originates in the same ancient superstition which led the Scythians of antiquity, agreeably to the testimony of Pliny, to consider it not only an act of propriety, but of the greatest piety, to eat the dead bodies of their relatives. There is no doubt that this practice may have led many to relish human flesh, who would never otherwise have thought of the horrid repast, and to practise cannibalism, without such an excuse for it. There are indications of this having been the case even among the cannibals of New Zealand, where it has been the notorious practice from time immemorial to feast upon the dead bodies of enemies slain in battle. In certain cases it is held incumbent upon the relatives or clansmen of certain chiefs to eat some portion of their entrails after their death; and when the body of the chief has been in a state of putrefaction before those who are under this obligation have seen it, they have endeavoured to

* A confirmation of this theory has been afforded by Mr. Bunce of Victoria, a naturalist originally, but not eventually, attached to Dr. Leichhardt's expedition to Swan River, who found many of the words used by the natives of the interior, towards Moreton Bay, to be identical with those in use among the aborigines in the neighbourhood of Melbourne.

fulfil the demands of the revolting superstition, by thrusting a stick into the bowels of the chief, and afterwards into the fire, and then chewing the stick. I do not pretend to explain either the origin or the object of the superstition in question; all I contend for is its extensive prevalence, and its high antiquity.

A considerable degree of mystery has all along prevailed in New South Wales, in regard to the disposal of the dead among the natives. They are very unwilling to give any information on the subject, and very few of the settlers know anything about it. That they bury the dead occasionally is unquestionable, but it is very difficult to ascertain whether they do so universally. The horror that all Europeans have at everything like cannibalism is soon observed by the natives, and tends to force the ancient practice wherever it still obtains, into disuse; but it is rather a suspicious circumstance in regard to the aborigines of that part of the territory generally, that whenever they wish to create a bad impression on the minds of the European colonists, in reference to any other tribe besides their own, they uniformly accuse the other tribe of cannibalism. At all events, pieces of human flesh have occasionally been found in their bags.

Before noticing any other peculiar feature in the social system of the Papuan race in Australia, I would request the reader's permission to make a few additional remarks on the subject of cannibalism generally. Cannibalism, in its worst form, appears, therefore, to have been at one time very prevalent in the ancient world. Mr. Bryant observes that Philostratus, in the life of Apollonius, and Aristotle in his Ethics, both mention the fact of its extensive prevalence, and intimate their own belief of it. The testimony of Aristotle on the subject is very remarkable: —

"Πολλα δ' εστι των εθνων, ἁ προς το κτεινειν, και προς την ανθρωποφαγιαν ευχερως εχει, καθαπερ των περι τον Ποντον Αχαιοι τε και Ηνιοχοι, και ηπειρωτικων εθνων ἑτεροι."—"There are many nations who do not scruple to kill men, and afterwards to feed upon their flesh. Among these we may reckon the nations of Pontus, such as the Achæans, and the Heniochi, as well as other people upon that coast."

Euhemerus, a native of Magna Græcia, whose history of his country was translated into Latin by Ennius, relates that "Saturn

and Ops, and the men of that period generally, were accustomed to eat human flesh." * The Lamiæ and Cyclopes, two ancient nations inhabiting Italy and Sicily, whom Mr. Bryant regards as a branch of the Cuthæan race, or as children of Cush, were notorious for this horrible practice, if we can credit the general voice of antiquity; and the poetical fables of the Cyclops and of Scylla appear to have originated in the fear and horror which the notoriety of the fact produced among other and more civilized contemporary people. Euripides, in his play entitled The Cyclops, puts the following words into the mouth of one of his dramatis personæ:—

"Γλυκυτατα, φησι, τα κρεα τους ξενους φερειν·
Ουδεις μολων δειρ', ὁστις ου κατεσφαγη."
EURIPIDES, *Cyclops*, v. 126, quoted by Bryant.

"The flesh of strangers who visit them, forms their sweetest repast: no person comes within their reach who is not devoured."

Homer also makes his hero Ulysses give the following account of the doings of one of these Cyclops:—

"His bloody hand
Snatched two unhappy of my martial band,
And dashed like dogs against the rocky floor;
The pavement swims with brains and mingled gore.
Torn limb from limb, he spreads the horrid feast,
And fierce devours it like a mountain beast.
He sucks the marrow, and the blood he drains:
Nor entrails†, flesh, nor solid bone remains.
We see the death, from which we cannot move,
And humbled groan beneath the hands of Jove."
POPE'S *Hom. Odyss.* i. 289.

* "Saturnum et Opem, *cæterosque tum homines*, humanam carnem solitos esitare."—*Ennii His. Sac.* quoted by Lactantius apud Bryant.

† Virgil alleges, in accordance with the quotations already given respecting the cannibalism of the ancient Scythians, that that of the Cyclopes had some particular reference to the *entrails* of the victims; for in describing the feat of Polyphemus, referred to both by Homer and Euripides, he uses the following expression:—

"*Visceribus* miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro."
Æneid. lib. iii. 622.

"The horrid monster greedily devours
Their quivering entrails, and their streaming blood."

The eating of the entrails of an animal offered in sacrifice was, in the case of certain gods, a necessary part of the sacrifice. "The *Pinarii* hap-

And in regard to Scylla, Mr. Bryant observes, that Seneca, in his 79th Epistle, states that "Scylla is a rock, and by no means formidable to mariners."* "It was the temple," Mr. Bryant adds, with great probability, "built of old upon that eminence, and the customs which prevailed within, that made it so detested." The dogs, it seems, were priests who seized shipwrecked mariners, and offered them up in sacrifice to their infernal divinities, and afterwards feasted upon their bodies. There were many of these temples, it would appear, around the Mediterranean, and they were dreaded and detested by "the ancient mariner," as well they might.

It is not necessary, however, to go back to the ages of fable to find proofs of the existence of the horrid practice of cannibalism in ancient Europe. It appears to have prevailed to a comparatively late period, even among the ancient Romans. In the first ages of the Republic, human sacrifices were offered annually, and Pliny observes, in reference to a decree of the Senate that finally abolished them, *but not until the year of Rome* 657, that it was customary on such occasions to eat the victims. "Sustulêre monstra, in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, *mandi vero etiam saluberrimum.*"—Lib. xxx.

Nay, the historian Gibbon seems to think it not improbable that cannibalism was practised even in Scotland, so late as in the fourth century of the Christian era. His words are as follows:—

"A valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacotti, the enemies and afterwards the soldiers of Valentinian, are accused by an eye-witness of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock, and that they curiously selected the most delicious and brawny parts, both of males and females,

pening to come too late to the sacrifice, after the entrails were eaten up, (*extis adesis*) were, by the appointment of Hercules, never after permitted to taste the entrails."—*Adam's Roman Antiq.* art. Ministers of Religion. In other cases they were otherwise disposed of. Thus Æneas, when embarking for Italy from Sicily, is represented as throwing the entrails of the sacrifice into the sea.

"Stans procul in prorâ pateram tenet, *extaque salsos*
Porricit in fluctus." VIRG. lib. v. 775.

* "Scyllam saxum esse, et quidem non terribile navigantibus."

which they prepared for their horrid repast. If in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleasing hope that New Zealand may produce in some future age, the Hume of the Southern Hemisphere." *

Let the reader recollect, therefore, that although the Papuans are decided cannibals, in so far as the eating of human flesh is concerned, they are guiltless of the atrocities with which that horrific practice was anciently both accompanied and preceded, in the very heart of Europe,—the hunting and slaying of men for their flesh; and especially let us not subject them to a general sentence of excommunication from the pale of humanity, because, in compliance with the demands of a superstition of powerful influence, and of the highest antiquity, but of the origin and object of which history has left us no trace, and reason can offer no satisfactory, solution, they eat the dead bodies of their relatives and friends, whether they have fallen in battle, or under the stroke of disease. If there is nothing absolutely sinful in the practice—and it would be difficult to prove that there is—we should, at least, recollect the maxim, *De gustibus non disputandum.*

The aborigines of Australia never mention the name of a deceased native, and they seem distressed when any European happens to do so†; but at Moreton Bay they usually carve the emblem or coat of arms of the tribe to which he belonged on the bark of a tree close to the spot where he died. The first of these affecting memorials of aboriginal mortality which I happened to see was pointed out to me near Breakfast Creek, by Mr. Wade, on our return to Brisbane from the Pine River. The rain was pouring down in torrents at the time, but I immediately reined up my horse to the tree, and remained fixed to the spot for a few minutes, till I fancied I could identify the rude carving on the bark with the raised figures on the breasts of the aboriginal tribe

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iii. p. 290.

† It was deemed a violation of propriety in ancient Athens to mention the word *death* in genteel society.

of the Brisbane district. So very interesting a circumstance naturally gave rise to a peculiar train of thought, and I endeavoured to embody in the following epitaph the intelligence and feelings which this simple monumental emblem of the Papuan race would doubtless convey to the wandering aborigines:—

STOP, TRAVELLER, AND DROP A TEAR!
HERE DIED,
OF WOUNDS HE HAD RECEIVED IN BATTLE,
WHEN FIGHTING GLORIOUSLY FOR THE HONOUR OF HIS DISTRICT,
YELLAMUNDY,
A FREE BORN, INDEPENDENT, AUSTRALIAN BRAVE,
OF THE TRIBE, WHOSE DISTINCTIVE EMBLEM, OR ARMORIAL BEARING,
THOU BEHOLDEST ENGRAVEN ON THIS TREE.
HIS FLESH
WAS CONSUMED IN SORROW BY HIS KINDRED AROUND THE FUNEREAL FIRES,
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ANCIENT AND HALLOWED CUSTOMS
OF THE CHILDREN OF CUSH:
HIS BONES
WERE DULY MOURNED OVER BY THE NEIGHBOURING TRIBES,
AND THEN BORNE ALONG WITH THEM BY HIS KINDRED, IN ALL THEIR MIGRATIONS,
FOR MANY A MOON;
TILL, THE DAYS OF APPOINTED MOURNING BEING ENDED, THEY WERE DEPOSITED AT LENGTH,
IN THEIR LAST RESTING-PLACE,
A HOLLOW TREE;
BUT HIS SKIN,
DRIED AND TANNED, AFTER THE MANNER OF HIS COUNTRY,
IS STILL PRESERVED BY THE WARRIORS OF HIS TRIBE,
AS A CHERISHED MEMORIAL OF THEIR ONCE FAITHFUL COMPANION
AS WELL AS A POWERFUL SPELL
AGAINST WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY.

I have already adverted to the wonderful diversity of languages observable among the aborigines of Australia—a phenomenon so remarkable in itself, and so remarkably similar to what has been observed by Dr. Von Martius among the barbarous aboriginal tribes of the Brazils. There seems, however, to be the same affinity between the different aboriginal languages of Australia as there is between those of America; for Humboldt has observed that it is much easier for an American Indian to learn any Indo-American language of which there may, notwithstanding, not be a single word identical with the corresponding word in his own, than to learn any European language whatever. There seem to be peculiar channels in which the stream of thought is made to

flow among the different great divisions of the family of man in the formation of language, giving a specific and distinctive character to all the languages connected with one of these great channels, notwithstanding the greatest difference in the particular words of each as compared with those of others; so that languages of the aboriginal stock, or "old connection," are much easier for an Indo-American or an Australian Papuan to learn than those of "the new connection," or European stock. The languages of the same stock may be of very different materials as respects each other, or, in other words, the corresponding words in each may be very different, but still they have all been cast, so to speak, in the same common mould; their grammatical construction is identical, or nearly so, and the stream of thought in the formation of them all has evidently flowed in the same channel. And this identity of grammatical construction in their respective languages is a far stronger proof of affinity between different nations than any fancied resemblance between different words of their respective tongues.

The aborigines of Australia give distinctive and remarkably appropriate names, descriptive either of the natural features or of the physical qualities by which it is distinguished, to every remarkable locality in the country; and the number of these names, and the consequent facility with which the natives can make appointments with each other, are incredible to a European.

"Nullum sine nomine saxum."

Every rock, river, creek, mountain, hill, or plain, has its native name.

There is nothing that so strongly exhibits the superior intellectual capacity of the Papuan race as the facility with which they can give names to objects or implements of European civilization, with the nature or uses of which they are totally unacquainted. In the exercise of this inventive faculty, indeed, they seem to be greatly superior even to the lighter or Polynesian race. When the latter, for example, were first visited by European missionaries, and had frequent opportunities of seeing books in the hands of the missionaries, they had no native name, of course, for the strange object at which they saw the white strangers constantly looking, and had no conception whatever of

its use; and they waited patiently, therefore, without venturing to give it a name, till the missionaries told them what it was and what to call it. It has consequently received the English name, with the change necessary to suit the genius of the language, both at Tahiti and New Zealand, being called, in both islands, *Buka*, or *Bukabuka*. But the Papuan native of Australia scorned to be indebted to the white man for a name for this foreign object or implement, or to confess the same poverty of invention as the Polynesian had exhibited; and the mental process by which he invented an appropriate native name for it is as amusing as it is original. It must be borne in mind, however, that the black native of Queensland was not made acquainted with books in the mere infancy of literature, like the ancient Greek or Roman, who named them respectively from the Egyptian reed or inner bark of a tree*, of which paper was anciently made. His first acquaintance with literature is in all likelihood made through one of the latest issues from the press of Albemarle Street, London, brought out by one of the last arrivals in the colony, in the shape of a flashy octavo, bound in cloth and embossed. This object, therefore, he examines with the keen eye of a naturalist, anxious to ascertain, from its external characteristics, under what order, class, and genus in the *Systema Naturæ* he ought to place the undescribed plant, mineral, or animal he has discovered. He observes, accordingly, that the European implement or book has two covers or shells of a bluish colour, finely streaked and marked; that it opens and shuts, and that it has a hinge at the back; and, in virtue of these characteristics, he assigns it its proper place in his system, and names it *Mooyoom*, a muscle! Nay, from this root he forms a derivative or compound to designate general literature, or everything that is done with the book, whether in the shape of reading, writing, or arithmetic; for all this he designates *mooyoom-yacca*, or muscle-work; and I may add, that for this species of work, however scanty the portion he may have performed of it, the black native expects to be paid by the poor missionary as regularly as the ablest contributor to the London Times, or the Edinburgh Review.

The same principle is observable in the multiplication of derivatives or compound words, from a comparatively small number

* Βιβλος and Liber.

of primitives in the native language itself. Thus *Beegy*, the sun, may be supposed to be one of the oldest words in the language of the aborigines of Queensland; but the reduplication of that word, or *beegy-beegy*, is the name of an object possessing the peculiar quality of the sun, a bright yellow colour in a high degree—the Regent Bird. Again, relationship of any kind to the object designated by the primitive word, is expressed by adding to it the affix *oba* or *aba*. Thus *Beegy*, the sun; *beegy-oba*, a European object or implement that serves the same purpose as the sun to the white man, by telling him the time—a watch.

A few other instances of the latter of these principles will exhibit, in some measure, the genius and power of the language. Thus, *tarang*, the thigh; *tarang-aba*, thigh-clothes or trousers. *Mawgool*, the head; *mawgool-aba*, a hat; *mullera*, a black fellow; *mullera-g-aba*, something belonging to a black fellow. Here the letter *g* is evidently paragogic, being inserted, as is not unusual in more polished languages, *cqusâ euphoniæ*, or for the sake of sound; for the black native seems to have rather a good ear. *Paiango*, sick; *paiango-ba*, sick-stuff or medicine. Here one short vowel, preceded by another short vowel, suffers elision, as in the same polished languages already referred to.

The affix *do* has some transforming power inherent in it, the nature of which I could not exactly ascertain; as *taratchin-do*, from *taratchin*, a white man. But the affix *co* performs the important function of changing nouns into verbs; as *dabil*, water; *dabil-co*, to go a-watering, or to fetch water.

The word *yacca*, in the Moreton Bay dialect of the aboriginal language, is one of those unfortunate words that has more than double duty to perform. It signifies everything in the shape of service or performance, from the first incipient attempts at motion to the most violent exertion; and it usually takes its signification from the noun to which it is appended, as in the instance I have given above, *mooyoom-yacca*, to read, to write, or to cast accounts.

The reader will find specimens of the language both of the Moreton Bay and of the Wide Bay aborigines in Appendix G.

As a proof that the Papuan race is not so utterly devoid of intellectual capacity as is alleged by certain interested parties in Australia, I may add that they have actually given names to

several of the constellations, as "the black fellow and his jin," which is their name for the constellation Gemini; and "the black fellow and his canoe," or some other. Their poetry also is by no means contemptible, and although it generally consists only of a single couplet, it has always the credit of being the immediate offspring of inspiration, in common with the more extended productions of the ancient Greeks and Romans. And when a new song *has been revealed* (for this is actually the language that is used on the subject by these children of nature) to any favourite of the Muse, the tribe to which he belongs learn the song in the first instance, and then communicate it, as it seems they consider it incumbent on them to do, to the next tribe. That tribe learn the song also, and pass it in the same way to the tribe beyond it, insomuch that songs are often sung by the natives in the language of a far-distant tribe which they do not understand. The following is one of these songs, composed by a native of the Cowpasture district of New South Wales, with a pretty free translation, or rather paraphrase:—

PARAPHRASE AND TRANSLATION OF A SONG OF THE ABORIGINES.

"Ngaan nubang dhuraa?
Barrabooriong gil-waa!"

A warrior lies in yonder dell,
His eye-lids closed for ever!
Heroes! I slew him, and he fell
Near Warragumby river.
Who is he ere we dig his grave?
Come tell me in the song.
Oh, he is like a warrior brave,
Bold Barrabooriong."

Now, although this song consists of nothing more, in the original, than the apparently simple question and answer, "Who is it that I speared? He is like Barrabooriong," it appears to me to contain, especially in what the lawyers would call its innuendoes, the very soul of poetry. The victorious native, returning from the single combat in which he has slain his antagonist, informs the tribe assembled in Corrobbory that he has slain some enemy, and asks them exultingly, Who it is? Every one, of course, fixes upon some individual of inferior note in the hostile tribe, not supposing that one, who had perhaps never distinguished himself before, would have ventured to measure

spears with a more eminent antagonist. They are all, of course, at fault, and the victor at once relieves them from their suspense, and excites their astonishment and admiration by giving them to understand that the enemy he has slain is Barrabooriong, the principal warrior of the hostile tribe, of whom they had all previously been afraid. The effect of this intelligence on the assembled natives must be greatly heightened by the dramatic style in which it is communicated. The victor does not say expressly that it *is* Barrabooriong, he only says it is like him; they may ascertain the fact for themselves, if they have any doubt of it. Besides, this way of proclaiming the fact tends greatly to raise the character of the victor in the estimation of his tribe. It is exactly in the style of the speech of a gallant colonel, when his own health and that of his regiment was drunk at a public dinner — "The —— (mentioning the number of his regiment) had done their duty, and they were ready to do it again." In like manner the victor, in the case before us, had doubtless speared Barrabooriong; but distinguished as that hero was in the annals of aboriginal warfare, only show him a better man, and he was ready to spear him too. In short, if the Papuan Homer had only a Colonial Eustathius to explain his meaning, and to bring out his beauties, there is no doubt that his claim to a niche in the temple of fame would be universally acknowledged.

The natives are passionately fond of music and singing, accompanied with beating on the shield with a club, or on the thighs with the open palm: leaping, dancing, and clapping of hands, is one of the chief amusements of their merry Corrobbories. The words on these occasions are often *extempore*, and simple enough; but any joyous idea that occurs to the principal performer, who acts the part of an Italian improvisatore, is immediately expressed in the cadence of the song, and repeated again and again by the delighted company. Games, in mock imitation of a kangaroo or emu hunt, in which the bodies of the performers are fantastically decorated and painted, are also a never-failing accompaniment of these merry meetings, which, at least, in their native and unsophisticated state, are never disgraced by scenes of beastly intoxication.*

* The following is a description of a Corrobbory, by Sir Thomas Mitchell: —"This amusement always takes place at night, and by the light of blaz-

The subject of religion, however interesting and important, is one upon which, unfortunately, there is little to be said in reference to the aborigines of Australia, and that little is entirely in the form of negation. They have no idea of a supreme divinity, the creator and governor of the world, the witness of their actions, and their future judge. They have no object of worship, even of a subordinate and inferior rank. They have no idols, no temples, no sacrifices. In short, they have nothing whatever of the character of religion, or of religious observance, to distinguish them from the beasts that perish, They live "without God in the world."

Count Strzelecki, to whom I have already had occasion to refer, has, doubtless, maintained a somewhat different opinion, giving the aborigines credit for a degree of religious knowledge, and religious feeling, quite refreshing to contemplate. "One fact appears certain," observes the Count,—"they recognise a God,

ing boughs. They dance to beaten time, accompanied by a song. The dancers paint themselves white, in such remarkably varied ways, that no two individuals are at all alike. The surrounding darkness seems necessary to the effect of the whole, all these dances being more or less dramatic; the painted figures coming forward in mystic order, from the obscurity of the background, while the singers and beaters of time are invisible, have a highly theatrical effect. Each dance seems most tastefully progressive, the movement being at first slow, and introduced by two persons, displaying the most graceful motions, both of arms and legs, while others, one by one, drop in, until each, imperceptibly wearing into the truly savage attitude of the "Corrobbory" jump,—the legs striding to the utmost; the head turned over one shoulder; the eyes glaring, and fixed with savage energy in one direction: the arms raised, and inclined towards the head; the hands usually grasping *waddies*, *bommerangs*, or other warlike weapons. The jump now keeps time with each beat, and at each leap the dancer takes six inches to one side, all being in a connected line, led by the first dancer. The line is doubled, or tripled, according to space and numbers; and this gives great effect, for when the first line jumps to the *left*, the second jumps to the *right*, the third to the *left* again, and so on, until the action acquires due intensity, when all simultaneously and suddenly stop. The excitement which this dance produces in the savage is very remarkable. However listless the individual, lying half asleep, perhaps, as they usually are when not intent on game, set him to this dance, and he is fired with sudden energy,—every nerve is strung to such a degree that he is no longer to be recognised as the same individual, until he ceases to dance, and comes to you again. There can be little doubt but that the Corrobbory is the medium through which the delights of poetry and the drama are enjoyed, in a limited degree, even by these primitive savages of New Holland."—*Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, &c. &c.* By Sir T. L. Mitchell, &c. &c. vol. ii. p. 6.

though they never name him in their vernacular language, but call him in English, 'Great Master,' and consider themselves his slaves. They believe in an immortality, or after-existence, of everlasting enjoyment, and place its locality in the stars, or other constellations, of which they have a perfect knowledge."*

Now, I confess I have always been very sceptical in regard to the ideas alleged by certain travellers to be entertained by barbarous tribes on the subject of God and of religion. The Apostle Paul informs us, that "the world," that is the Grecian and Roman world, "by wisdom knew not God;" and are we to suppose that the American Indians, with the comparatively pure and exalted ideas they are alleged by certain writers to entertain of the Great Spirit, and the miserable aborigines of Australia, who, according to Count Strzelecki, are equally good theologians, have attained to a knowledge in divine things which escaped the keenest researches of the sages of Greece and Rome? Aristotle, who, in point of genius and acquirement, was perhaps the first of the Grecian philosophers, had, nevertheless, no higher idea of the supreme divinity than that of a skilful artificer, who could construct creatures and systems of suitable materials *previously supplied to his hand;* and are we to suppose that the American Indian, or the Papuan of Australia, has been able to see farther into the system of the universe than that illustrious sage? "The invisible things of God, even his eternal power and godhead," are, doubtless, clearly perceivable from the works of His hands; but it is not merely a matter of question, whether any mortal has ever attained, by this process, to the knowledge of God; it is a matter of fact that no mortal ever has. It may be contrary, indeed, to the preconceived ideas, or the philosophical system, of certain writers, to admit that there is any portion of the human race living entirely without a religion, without a God; but the Papuan aborigines of Australia are, unfortunately, not the only instances of the fact.

Dr. Vanderkemp, a missionary of the highest character and standing, who devoted himself to the cause of missions among the Hottentots of South Africa, observes, in reference to the Kaffres, another African nation, "If by religion we mean reverence for God, or the external action by which that reverence is expressed, I never

* Strzelecki, p. 339.

could perceive that they had any religion, or any idea of the existence of a God. *They have no word in their language to express the idea of the Deity.* They worship nothing in heaven or earth, and no fragments or ruins remain that could indicate that their fathers knew anything beyond their descendants."*

Count Strzelecki informs us, almost in the words of Dr. Vanderkemp respecting the Kaffres, that the aborigines of Australia have no word in their *own* language to express the idea of the Deity; but it seems they have an *English* word to express that idea—the meaning of which evidently is, that they express the traveller's own idea by any English word he chooses to put into their mouths, nodding assent to all he says in a foreign and unknown tongue, from sheer politeness.

I have already referred to Mr. Moffat the missionary's account of the habitations of the Bechuanas, another African nation. "These beings," observes a writer in the "North British Review," for November, 1845, on the authority of the missionaries, "had no ideas of anything beyond this world. Several, interrogated by the missionaries Schmelin, Campbell, and Moffat, declared that they had no idea whatever of a God or devil, or any spirit, of a future state, or immortality of the soul; and yet they had in general acute intellects and excellent memories."

Nay, the Danish Government having had an exploratory expedition, under the command of Captain Graah, an able and zealous naval officer of that country, on the coast of Greenland, the same reviewer informs us that "Captain Graah praises highly the honesty, hospitality, and, according to their own ideas, the good manners and politeness of these heathens (the Esquimaux of Davis' Straits). They have no religion, no prayers, sacrifices, or other religious observances; but they have a notion of higher unembodied beings, and ascribe a spirit or power to fire, water, air, the ocean, &c."†

In answer to a question which I proposed in writing to the Rev. Mr. Schmidt, of the German Mission to the aborigines at Moreton Bay, as to whether the natives of that locality had any idea of a God, or any object of worship, Mr. Schmidt states, after

* See North British Review for November, 1845.

† Danish Researches in Greenland. Reviewed in North British Review, November, 1845.

seven years' residence among the natives, and with all those superior facilities for acquiring accurate information on the subject which a knowledge of their language may be supposed to imply, "I have not been able to trace amongst them the idea of any superior being; they have likewise no idols."* Whether Mr. Schmidt or Count Strzelecki was likely to be the best informed on this important point, I leave the reader to judge.

That the whole Papuan race should have been found destitute of the knowledge of a God or of religion, is perhaps not more surprising than that almost every trace of this divine knowledge should have disappeared at a comparatively early period in the history of the postdiluvian world, among all the other Gentile nations. The more spiritual the theology and worship of Noah and his immediate posterity were, the more speedily were they likely to be forgotten, in the subsequent dispersions of their later descendants. Now, although history informs us that there has been a general tendency in mankind, in proportion as they lost sight of the pure theology and worship of primeval antiquity, to substitute some visible object of worship for the true God, and the grossest and most debasing observances and superstitions for that homage of the understanding, the heart, and the affections, which he requires, it is too much to assume that this tendency was ever universal. On the contrary, as human nature is much the same in all ages as well as in all states of society, I am persuaded we shall reason much more correctly in regard to what must have taken place in the earlier ages of the world, by attending more carefully to what is actually passing under our own eyes. Is it not the fact, therefore, throughout the Christian world, that while the general tendency of mankind in Roman Catholic countries has been to substitute some visible object of worship for the true God of the New Testament and Jesus Christ whom he has sent, as the Madonna and child, the images of imaginary saints, the crucifix, dead men's bones, and the "holy coat," and to substitute for the pure and spiritual worship of the New Testament a number of superstitious practices and observances, that can neither enlighten the understanding nor improve the heart:—nay, is it not the fact that while the general tendency of mankind, even in Protestant

* Davies, or Darumboy, gave me precisely the same answer to a similar question.

countries, is to make their religion consist entirely in a few formal and outward observances, there is a large proportion of the population in both of these countries, both of the higher and intellectual, and of the humbler or working classes, who continue to live as completely without a religion of any kind as if there were no God at all, and no future account, no heaven and no hell —as completely, in short, as the Papuan aborigines of Australia, or as the beasts that perish? And why should it appear strange that a race without civilization, and without means of instruction of any kind for thousands of years, should be found living in precisely the same state in regard to religion in which thousands and tens of thousands of our own countrymen are actually living at this moment, with all the appliances of civilization around them, and all the means of instruction which the general prevalence of Christianity has supplied? There are evidently, therefore, two strong tendencies in mankind in the matter of religion—the one is to superstition, inducing them to form lords many and gods many; the other is to absolute irreligion, leading them to live entirely without a God and without a religion: and the more spiritual the system of theology and worship under which mankind are placed, the more strongly will the latter of these tendencies be developed.

It appears to me, therefore, that the absence of everything like a religion among the Papuan aborigines of Australia is a strong presumptive evidence of the extreme antiquity of the race. Had the forefathers of that race not been cut off from the rest of mankind, by their own successive and distant migrations towards the east, before the invention of idols or of any other visible objects of worship, the probability is that they would have carried these idols along with them, and continued to worship them to the present day, "on every high hill and under every green tree." But they simply "forgat God," and lived thenceforth "without God in the world." And the consequence of this forgetfulness of God, combined with their gradual isolation from the rest of mankind, in circumstances that rendered their wide dispersion and their abandonment of everything like the habits of civilization a matter of necessity, as in Australia, was their sinking gradually into their present abject condition of intellectual and moral debasement.

I infer, therefore, from the absence of everything like idolatry, in any of its numerous forms and phases, among the Papuan aborigines of Australia, in conjunction with the other moral phenomena observable in that singular race, that they were originally a branch of the family of Cuth or Cush, which emigrated to the eastward, from the first settlements of the human race after the deluge, in the very infancy of the postdiluvian world; but not until the peculiar practices and superstitions of the antediluvians in regard to the dead had been revived generally in that family.*

It is evident from the superstitious practices of the natives already related, that they have some vague and indistinct idea that death is not an entire extinction of our being; and since white men have come among them, they generally allege that after death they go to England and become white men. The origin of this idea, however, is so very obvious, as originating in their mode of disposing of the dead, that but little importance can be attached to it as a cue to the ideas they entertained on the subject previous to their knowledge of the existence of Europeans. In their lamentations over the dead they frequently exclaim, in a melancholy strain—*Wounah? Wounah?* Where is he? Where is he? And it is evident they imagine that the individual comes in contact with other deceased natives in "the land o' the leal." To these deceased natives also they ascribe the power of exerting a malignant influence of some kind, of which they are greatly afraid.

There are certain traditions among the aborigines that appear to me to have somewhat of an Asiatic character and aspect. *Buddai*, or as it is pronounced by the aborigines towards the mountains in the Moreton Bay district, *Budjah* (quasi *Buddha*) they regard as the common ancestor of their race, and describe as an old man of great stature, who has been lying asleep for ages, with his head leaning on one arm, and the arm buried deep in the sand. A long time ago Buddai awoke and got up, and the

* Dr. Taylor, of Norwich, in his "Key to the Apostolical Writings, with a Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle to the Romans," observes, "That in about four hundred years after the flood, the generality of mankind were fallen into idolatry." In all likelihood the Cushite emigration, which gave birth to the Papuan race, and eventually peopled the multitude of the isles of the east, took place during this interval, previous to the death of Noah, who lived four hundred and fifty years after the flood.

whole country was overflowed with water; and when he awakes and gets up again, he will devour all the black men.

Now this tradition is so remarkably similar to the following quoted by Bryant, that one is almost necessitated to refer them to a common origin:—

"Two temples are taken notice of by Hamelton, near Syrian, in Pegu, which he represents as so like in structure, that they seem to be built by the same model. One stood about six miles to the southwards, and was called Kiackiack, or the God of gods' Temple. The image of the deity was *in a sleeping posture, and sixty feet in length, and was imagined to have lain in that state of repose six thousand years. When he awakes, it is said, the world will be annihilated.* As soon as Kiackiack has dissolved the frame and being of the world, Dagon, or Dagun (the deity of the other temple) will gather up the fragments, and make a new one."*

Bryant considers this eastern tradition to be a remnant of the tradition of the deluge—Dagon being Noah. It is remarkably similar, at all events, to the tradition of the aborigines of Australia, which is prevalent also among those of the Wellington district; *Buddai* being there called *Piame.* Mr. Bryant adds:—

"In the account of Sha Rokh's embassy to Cathai, mention is made of a city, Kam-ju; and of a temple whose dimensions were very large. The author says that each side was 500 kes or cubits. In the middle lay an idol, *as if it were asleep, which was fifty feet in length.* Its hands and feet were three yards long, and the head twenty-one feet in circumference. This great image was gilt all over; and *held one hand under its head,* and the other was stretched along down its thigh."†

When an eclipse of the moon takes place, the natives think it portends calamity to some distant relative, and make a doleful lamentation. When they rob a wild bees' hive, they generally leave a little of the honey for Buddai. They have no sacred animals; but the coast natives have a great respect for porpoises, and will not suffer them to be killed, as they are very serviceable to them in driving the fish into the shallows, where they take them in their scoop-nets. They have ideas of right and wrong, and know very well that it is wrong to steal, and right for the

* New System, &c. by Jacob Bryant, Esq. vol. v. p. 233.
† Bryant, *ubi supra*, p. 246.

thief to be punished. And when a white man has been murdered in any vicinity, all the black fellows in the neighbourhood move off to a different part of the country till they think the murder forgotten.

I am well aware of the imperfections of the preceding attempt to throw some light on so dark and difficult a subject as the origin and migrations of the Papuan race. Our means of information are as yet too limited to enable us to arrive at satisfactory conclusions on several of the most important of the points discussed in this essay: it is to be hoped, however, that some further light may shortly be thrown upon these points, chiefly in regard to the general condition, and the manners, customs, languages, and traditions of the aborigines of the northern coasts of Australia, and of the inhabitants of New Guinea, through the recent establishment of the colony of Queensland and the present tendency of population and settlement towards the north. The northern coast, towards its eastern extremity, was, in all probability, the first part of that vast continental island that was occupied by the aborigines of Australia; and New Guinea was, in all likelihood, their mother-country. But the latter of these islands, although twelve hundred miles long, and of proportionate breadth, and inhabited by a comparatively dense population, by no means in a state of absolute barbarism—if we can place any reliance on the occasional reports of the South Sea whalers—is still a *terra incognita* to Europeans. It is earnestly to be desired that this reproach to civilization may speedily be wiped away; for if there is any part of that vast portion of the earth's surface which the Papuan race has at one time traversed and occupied exclusively, in which it is likely to have preserved any remains of its ancient civilization, or in which any rational and Christian effort for its intellectual and moral improvement is likely to be successful, it is unquestionably in that large and comparatively fertile isle.

My esteemed friend and brother, the Rev. William Ridley, B.A., who was himself, for some time, a missionary to the aborigines of Queensland, and who knows, perhaps, more of their languages, and customs, and institutions, than any other person living, has favoured me with the two following papers, which I have much pleasure in inserting; viz.

1. On the evidences of an extinct and forgotten civilization among the aborigines of Australia, and
2. On the diversity of their languages.

No. I.

EVIDENCES OF AN EXTINCT AND LONG-FORGOTTEN CIVILIZATION, AMONG THE ABORIGINES OF AUSTRALIA.

Two monuments of the ancient civilization of the Australians have been preserved, amid the desolations of many generations; in the highly elaborate and symmetrical structure of their language, and the comprehensive social nomenclature on which their rules of marriage and descent are based.

Though their dialects are very numerous, and in many cases quite distinct in their vocabularies, and although the names by which their social divisions are marked, differ in different parts of the continent, there is evidence of a wide-spread, if not universal, prevalence of the two characteristics above mentioned.

The most striking peculiarity in their languages is the modification of the verbs, by which a very great variety of thought is expressed. They have far more conjugations than the Hebrew: by a change of inflexion an Australian verb may be made reflective, reciprocal, frequentative, causative, permissive. They have not only indicative, imperative, and subjunctive moods, and past, present and future tenses, all very distinctly marked by inflexion, but in each of these various shades of meaning are expressed by a change in the inflexion. For instance, in the verb *goal* (speak), the past indefinite is *goaldĭne*, contracted goë (spoke); *goalngain*, spoke to day; *goalmiĕn*, spoke yesterday; *goallen*, spoke some days ago; present, *goalda*, speaks; future, *goalle*, will speak; *goalngari*, will speak to-morrow.

There are three imperatives: *goalla*, speak; *goallawa* (emphatic), speak; you must and shall speak; *goalmia* (ironical), speak if you can, or if you dare.

This ironical imperative, which is common to the "Kamilaroi" verbs, is characteristic not only of the accuracy of thought which must at one time have distinguished the people who spoke this language, but also of their peculiar disposition; proneness to irony is still a marked feature in the aboriginal mind. Even in

their present savage state, the aborigines of Australia exhibit great precision in the use of their language. I remember in conversation with one of the Liverpool Plains blacks using the words, "yerala ngaia ngummilla," by and by I shall see; I unwittingly used the imperative inflexion —la, instead of the future—le; and he at once corrected me by saying, with emphasis on the last syllable "yerala nginda (you) ngummil*le*." The nouns are regularly declined; the suffix, ngu signifying "of;" "go" meaning "to;"—da "in;"—di "from;"—kunda "with." The pronouns have a dual as well as plural form; the dual itself is distinguished according to the person; thus, in Kamilaroi, *ngaia* is I; *ngulle*, we two, you and I; *ngullina*, we two, he and I; *ngeane*, we (plural). These specimens illustrate, what a fuller investigation of their languages abundantly proves, that there is an adaptation for the expression of shades of thought decidedly indicative of a mental power and accuracy far beyond what the present habits of the people would lead one to suppose. And in all dialects which have been examined, whether on the coast, at Newcastle, Brisbane, and Swan River, or in the interior, on the Barwan, and Balonne, much as the vocabularies differ, the same structure of verbs, nouns and pronouns, ample modifications expressing exactly minute differences of thought, are found.

The social nomenclature alluded to as the second monument of "a forgotten civilization," tells of the influence of ruling minds in past generations who classified the population. Some of the laws founded on that classification have been handed down. The system is this; there are four male and four female names in current use among each tribe. At Moreton Bay and Wide Bay the names of men are Bārāng, Bundar, Bandūr, and Derwain. The sisters of these are Barangun, Bundārun, Bandūrun, Derwaingun, respectively. On the Balonne and in the interior to the west of that river the names are Urgilla, whose sisters are all called Urgillagun, Obūr and Oburugun, Unburri and Unburrigun, Wūngo, and Wungōgun. And over a very large extent of the interior, among tribes speaking different dialects, the names are Ippai and Ippata, Kubbi and Kapota, Kumbo and Būta, Murri and Mata. And both on the coast and in the interior, though the names differ, the classification and laws founded upon it are similar. 1. An *Ippai* may marry an Ippata (of another

family) or a Kapota. 2. A *Murri* may marry only a Būta. 3. A *Kubbi* may marry only an Ippata. 4. A *Kumbo* may marry only a Mata. Any attempt to infringe these rules, as by a Kumbo attempting to take a woman named Kapota for a wife, would be resisted, even to bloodshed.

The rules of descent are these. 1. All the children of *Ippai* by *Ippata* are *Kumbos* and *Butas*. 2. The children of *Ippai* by *Kapota* are *Murris* (also called *Baias*) and *Matas*. 3. The children of *Murri* are *Ippais* and *Ippatas*. 4. The children of *Kubbi* are *Kumbos* and *Butas*. 5. The children of *Kumbo* are *Kubbis* and *Kapotas*.

This universal classification is a decided evidence of the unity of the Australian race and of habits of order and thought which must have prevailed in former times.

No. II.

ON THE DIVERSITIES OF THE LANGUAGES OF THE ABORIGINES.

The following short selection of words will illustrate the singular diversity prevailing between the Australian dialects. There are at least twenty-five different dialects spoken within 200 miles' radius of Brisbane. "Turrubul" is spoken at Brisbane, and "Dippil" about the Glasshouse mountains, sixty miles northward from the capital of Queensland.

[The vowels are pronounced as in French.]

English.	Turrubul.	Dippil.
man	tyān	dān
woman	jūndal	nūgal
ghost * or white man	māgui	mether
father	bing	bobbin
mother	pūjang	ngavāng
son	nurring	yimmu
daughter	nurrîngun	naiber
dog	mirri	wutta
emu	nguyi	ngūrūin
kangaroo	kurūman	krōman
laughing jackass	kakōwan	kaggu

* In many dialects the word meaning "ghost" or "demon" has been given to the white man.

English.	Turrubul.	Dippil.
opossum	kubbi	narambi
fire*	kuddum or kuïyim	gīra
water†	tabbil	kōng

There are certain roots which are found in all the Australian languages. The pronouns of the first and second person are the same essential syllables from Moreton Bay round to Western Australia. "I" in these languages is ngăia, ngatoa, ngadji, ngai; "thou" is nginda, nginta, or ngin. The words for the third personal pronoun differ entirely in different parts of the country. Wunnal is "he" at Moreton Bay in Turrubul; ngerma in Kamilaroi. In the numerals, which in most dialects stop short at 3, it is a singular fact, that while the words for 1 and 3 differ entirely, the words for 2 are all essentially the same. For instance, at Newcastle the three numerals are, wakol, buloara, ngoro; on the Namoi, in Kamilaroi, they are, mal, bular, guliba; at Moreton Bay, in Turrubul, kunnar, budelar, muddan. At Portland Bay, the word for 2 is bulara; the words for 1 and 3 being quite different from those used in New South Wales. Thus, notwithstanding the very wide diversities between the different Australian dialects, there are some unquestionable connecting links between them all.

One of the dialects spoken near the Glass-house Mountains, Moreton Bay, is called Gurcang; and in that dialect *gure* signifies "no." This is the only instance I found at Moreton Bay of a system prevalent over a large portion of the interior, of naming the language from its negative particle. "Kamilaroi," the most extensive language of the interior, is so called from its negative, "kamil," no; "Kogai," or "Kogurre" is the dialect in which "ko" signifies no; in Wolaroi "wol" is no; in "Wailwun" the negative is "wail;" in "Wiratheroi" it is "wira." In one instance the language is named from its affirmative; in "Pikambul" "pika" signifies yes.

My son, Mr. G. D. Lang, recently a member of the Parliament of New South Wales, happened to reside for a few months in the

* In the interior, on the Namoi and Barwan, "wi" signifies fire; at Newcastle, "kuiyong," evidently the same root as "kuiyim."

† In Kamilaroi, water is "kolle," and in the dialect of Newcastle, "kokoin."

Wide Bay district, of Queensland, during the years 1858 and 1859; and having been an eye-witness, during his stay, which very few white men are ever permitted to be, of part of a cannibal feast, he has given me the following memorandum of the occurrence for insertion here :—

CANNIBALISM AT WIDE BAY.

"While I resided at Maryborough, in the Wide Bay district of Queensland, I heard of frequent instances of cannibalism amongst the blacks in the neighbourhood, and longed for an opportunity of either verifying the report by ocular proof, or of ascertaining what would enable me to give it a flat contradiction. I had not long to wait. One evening, about ten o'clock, as I was taking a walk in the bush a short distance from the house at which I was staying, I met a black fellow whom I knew and hailed. He was agitated, partly from rage and partly from fear, and it was some time before I could get him to state distinctly what had brought him at so unseasonable an hour to so great a distance from his camp. I learned that his tribe were in great distress on account of the death of three of their number by violence that day. By whom or in what manner the men were killed, it would be useless for me to state. Why they were killed, I do not believe it possible for any person to explain.* After talking with the black for some time, it struck me that I had then an excellent opportunity of questioning him as to the practice of cannibalism amongst his tribe, and I proceeded to take advantage of it by asking him, without comment or preface, if the bodies had been eaten. He pretended disgust at the bare idea of such a thing, and denied that the Wide Bay blacks ever were cannibals. I merely asked, in reply to his denial, 'if the bodies had been cut up, and when they would be eaten.' He now evidently supposed that I knew all about the matter, but would not give a direct reply to my questions. He fairly committed himself, however, by saying, 'two of the bodies belonged to old men, and were therefore put in a hole.' I asked, then, if the third had been cut up, and he replied in the affirmative; stating, in answer to other questions, that the rite of cannibalism would be observed on the morrow, that the body had been skinned and disjointed in a regular and systematic manner, which it is unnecessary to

* I believe they were shot by the native police, under the command of European officers, for some very slight offence indeed.—J. D. L.

describe, by the 'old men' who act on all such occasions as priests or masters of ceremonies, and that the skin had been stretched on two spears and rubbed with grease and charcoal in order to its preservation. I had to speak to the black before me in such a manner as to assure him that I did not question in order to mock or upbraid; for I desired to get at the whole truth, which I perceived could not be taken by storm, but must be arrived at by stratagem. He told me, first, with regard to himself, that he had never eaten human flesh; afterwards, that he did not like the taste of it; and again, on my giving him a little encouragement to speak plainly, that it was 'good and close up bullock,' or much like beef."

"I then sounded the black on another point, asking him to tell me the name of the young man who had been killed; but all attempts at persuasion on my part, all manœuvrings of expression to induce him to pronounce the dead man's name, and all promises never to mention it again or to tell others that he had whispered it to me, were vain. He told me who the lad's father was, who was his brother, what he was like, how he walked when he was alive, how he held the tomahawk in his left hand instead of his right (for he had been left-handed), and with whom he usually associated; but the dreaded name never escaped his lips; and I believe no promises or threats could have induced him to utter it. While I questioned him on this point, I could not help admiring the ingenuity with which he endeavoured to gratify what he supposed to be my curiosity with reference to the identity of the dead man, without committing himself."

"In the morning after breakfast, I walked alone to the blacks' encampment a few miles from town; but found that I had arrived too late, for the feast had begun and ended, and I thought there was nothing further for me to learn. I went from one fire to another, chatting with individuals as I went along, but saw no traces of what I had expected till I approached a fire apart from the rest, at which a girl was sitting alone. I came up behind her, and saw at a glance that she had been a late arrival like myself, but a much more fortunate one, since a choice morsel had been reserved for her by some attentive friend. She had a foot of the dead man for her share. The toes she held in her right hand, while her left grasped the ankle stump, and her white

teeth tugged at the instep. The piece had been introduced to the fire, but no one could say that it had been roasted. The chill had been taken off, but it was not done; although I saw, from the progress the girl was making, it very soon would be. I stood transfixed with disgust, the very appearance of which, however, I felt it necessary to restrain, till a slight movement to the right brought my shadow into view, and the girl turned sharply round and recognised me. She had a modest, timid appearance, that presented a wonderful contrast to the evidence of ferocity and barbarism in her fingers, and she very politely held up her hands, offering me to partake of what was in them. I declined the hospitable offer as pleasantly as I could, pleading as my excuse that I had just taken breakfast, and eaten so much bullock that I could not then eat any more. She evidently thought the excuse a reasonable one; and being too polite to repeat an offer once declined, opened her bag and put her foot in it, to stand, I suppose, for future use. I learned from her that the feast had begun early and ended long ago, as there was a large gathering of the friends of the deceased; but when I asked her the name of the dead black, she turned her head away and remained silent, evidently determined to give no answer, and equally desirous of giving no offence."

"Having thus fairly satisfied myself that the name of the dead man was not to be pronounced again, I asked the girl if it was contrary to the customs of her people to mention a dead person's name; and having received her answer in the affirmative, as I anticipated, I expressed my regret at having asked her the unanswerable question, and dropped the subject."

"When a man is killed (as in the case in question) or dies in the vigour of manhood, his nearest relatives summon all their friends to a feast, and the body is skinned, cut up, and devoured amidst the wailings of women and the mournful chantings of men, who detail in melancholy and monotonous strains the virtues of the deceased, and the chief occurrences of his life, without ever once pronouncing his name. At certain biennial gatherings of some of the tribes of Queensland, young girls are slain in sacrifice to propitiate some evil divinity, and their bodies likewise are subjected to the horrid rite of cannibalism. The girls are marked out for sacrifice months before the event takes place by the old

men of the tribes, and they go with their companions, unconscious of the fate that awaits them at the end of their journey, when suddenly, and without a word of warning, they are pounced upon and cruelly put to death."

It must be abundantly evident to the intelligent and Christian reader, from the preceding details, that the only hope that can reasonably be entertained, either of the gradual elevation of so abject a portion of the human family, as the aborigines of Australia, in the scale of humanity, or even of their continued existence in contact with European civilization, depends on their being brought under the powerful influence of Christianity through the efforts of Christian missionaries.

My attention was strongly directed to the subject of establishing a mission to the aborigines of Australia, so early as the year 1831; and during that year and in the year 1834, I made three successive attempts to establish such a mission by means of Scotch missionaries, but without success.

I was again in Europe in the year 1837; and as Lord Glenelg, a highly philanthropic and Christian man, was then at the head of the Colonial Department, I memorialized the Government on the subject of the establishment of a mission to the aborigines at Moreton Bay, while I had previously ascertained that a body of missionaries could be obtained from Berlin in Prussia. The time was peculiarly favourable for such an effort, and the result was the establishment of the German mission at Moreton Bay, in the year 1838.

The missionaries consisted of two regularly educated and ordained ministers, both married, with ten lay missionaries, most of whom were also married, and all of whom had been for some time in training for the office of missionaries to the heathen under that eminent and devoted minister, the late Rev. Johannes Gossner, pastor of the Bohemian Church in Berlin; who, originally a Romish priest in Austria, and a disciple of the eminent Martin Boos, had renounced the errors of Popery, and had afterwards for some time exercised his ministry as a Protestant pastor in the city of Petersburgh, in Russia, with such zeal and success as to excite the jealousy and fears of the Russian clergy, at whose instance he was at length driven into exile from that empire.

The whole amount contributed by the Government from the land fund of New South Wales*, and available for the conveyance of this large body of missionaries from Berlin to Scotland, and from thence to their destination, was very small; and it required considerable tact and management to effect the object. But although there was still a considerable deficiency after the arrival of the missionaries, for which I had made myself personally responsible, the prospect at the time was so favourable, and the interest taken in the mission by the colonial public generally so strong, that if I had only been enabled to remain in the colony, not only would this deficiency have been speedily covered, but the mission itself would have been placed and maintained, with comparatively little difficulty, on an efficient footing as to funds. For as the Colonial Government had agreed to contribute from the land fund, for the general support of the mission, a sum equal to the whole amount contributed by the public, it had been ascertained in the course of the year 1838, that a moderate effort in the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, which I was then prepared to make in person, would have been sufficient to secure an amount of income equal to the whole expenditure to be incurred; especially as there were so many lay brethren, of various useful handicrafts, connected with the mission, who, it was intended, should give it the character of a Moravian settlement.

Unfortunately, however, I was obliged, in the month of January, 1839, in consequence of certain unexpected difficulties arising out of the connection of the Colonial Presbyterian Church with the State, to embark for Europe once more; and having visited the United States in the interval, I did not return to the colony till the month of March, 1841. During my absence, the German mission was sadly neglected by those whose bounden duty it was to have exerted themselves for its maintenance and support. The missionaries were consequently subjected to great privations, and their missionary labours were in some measure suspended, from the manual labour in which they were compelled to engage for the supply of the necessaries of life. After my return from Europe, however, a new and successful effort was made on behalf

* The support of missions to the aborigines is rightly regarded as one of the first charges upon the land revenue. It is so even in the United States, where there is no established church.

of the mission, and the serious privations to which it had previously been subjected were brought to an end.

His Excellency Sir George Gipps, then Governor of New South Wales, visited the settlement of Moreton Bay in the year 1842. In the course of that visit he also visited the German Mission Station, which he afterwards alleged was too near Brisbane for the purposes of the mission, and occupied ground which might turn something considerable into Government, if sold for suburban allotments; and it was agreeably to his Excellency's own suggestion that the Rev. Mr. Schmidt's journey, to which I have already referred, was undertaken to the Bunya-Bunya country, with a view to the formation of a new mission station in that locality; on the understanding that, if found suitable for the purpose, the Government should be at the whole expense of the removal of the missionaries, and continue to support the mission from the same fund, to the same extent and on the same principle as before. The locality was found by no means unfavourable, and the missionaries were willing to remove to the new station on this understanding; but the next announcement from the Government, communicated without previous warning of any kind, was that no further support would be granted for missions to the aborigines from the land revenue of the colony. In short, the impolitic procedure of the Government of the day, in regard to the sale of land, had nearly annihilated this revenue, and had spread disaster and ruin all over the colony; and the withdrawal of the support previously afforded for the German and other missions to the aborigines, was, therefore, merely a measure of retrenchment, suggested by the necessities of the times, and much easier, of course, than the curtailment of exorbitant salaries, or the abolition of useless appointments.

The opening up of the settlement of Moreton Bay to free immigration, in the years 1841 and 1842, had a most unfortunate effect on the relations previously subsisting between the missionaries and the aborigines, and materially interfered with the prospects of the mission, which were then rather favourable. For the squatting system, by virtually dividing the country into a series of extensive domains, and establishing a lord of the manor in each, introduced a class of persons who, if they did not look upon the natives with an evil eye, certainly regarded them as standing very

much in their way. On one occasion the Rev. Mr. Schmidt, when traversing the bush on foot with a few natives, was met by two gentlemen squatters, mounted and armed; one of whom requested Mr. Schmidt, as he spoke their language, to inform the natives that they were *not to trespass on his run.* Now, such an intimation will doubtless appear quite natural and proper to an Englishman, and quite consistent with *the rights of property*, whether held in fee-simple or on lease from the Crown. But what, I would ask, is the import of such an intimation in the peculiar circumstances supposed? And with what face, I would ask also, could a missionary make such an intimation to "the barbarous people" of his charge, who probably had "shown him much kindness" in their own way? Translated into English it would imply some such address to the black natives on the part of the missionary as the following:—

"Dearly beloved brethren,—I have hitherto been telling you that the great God who made the sun, the moon, and the stars, the land, and the salt water, 'hath made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell upon all the face of the earth;' that His white and His black children are all alike in His sight, and that He hath sent His Son from heaven to die for you, to bless and save you. But I have now to tell you that the great white Jin* beyond the salt water requires your country for the cattle and sheep of her tribe, and has given the whole of it from the river back to the mountains to her brother† Mr. ——, here; and you are not to 'sit down' or 'walk all about' over it, to hunt the kangaroo and opossum, or to gather *bangwall* any more. No doubt it is your own country, the place where you were born, and you have no place else to 'sit down and walk all about,' to hunt and to gather *bangwall;* but remember the great white Jin is very strong, and there are many soldiers in her tribe."

Such are the "glad tidings" which the missionary was actually requested, in the instance under consideration, to proclaim to the heathen people of his charge—such is the squatters' gospel to the aborigines of Australia! I have no hesitation in expressing my belief and conviction that in many, very many, instances, it has

* Jin is the native word for woman, or lady, or even Queen.

† "Brother" is a word of very extensive meaning with the natives, like the word *cousin* with us, in certain legal documents.

been literally tantamount to a sentence of confiscation, banishment, and death to the unfortunate aborigines.

Am I, therefore, to be understood as being opposed to the squatting system, or anxious for its discontinuance? By no means. The prevalence of that system is the natural and necessary course of events in Australia, and it is not in the power of Great Britain, even if she could be so insane as to cherish the wish, to enforce its discontinuance. All we can do is to ameliorate that system in its bearings upon the aborigines, that the white and black races may coexist in harmony and peace till the purposes of Divine Providence are accomplished in regard to the latter, or, in other words, during the very short period they will in all likelihood continue to exist at all. And I repeat it, there is nothing which in my opinion would tend so directly to ameliorate the squatting system, in all its bearings on the unfortunate aborigines, as the speedy influx of a numerous agricultural population from the mother-country, to occupy the vast extent of superior available land to the northward, in the way I have described. Such a population would infallibly originate a healthy state of public opinion on this most important subject, which certainly does not exist at present; and before which the unprincipled wretch, who would utterly disgrace his country, and humanity itself, by introducing amongst us the infernal Italian practice of poisoning, either in regard to blacks or whites, would quail and disappear.

The discontinuance of the pecuniary support granted for a time to the German mission to the aborigines, from the land revenue of the colony, and the difficulty of obtaining anything like adequate support from the colonists during the period of general disaster that ensued, produced a great change in the circumstances of the mission, independently of the change in its prospects, arising from the opening up of the settlement to the squatters, and rendered its future condition exceedingly precarious. In these circumstances, one of the clerical missionaries abandoned the undertaking, and accepted a clerical appointment in the colony. The Rev. Mr. Schmidt, however, remained at the mission station till the commencement of the year 1845. He has since been a missionary, under the London Missionary Society, in the Samoa Islands of the Southern Pacific.

The lay brethren, however, remained at the station, having been reinforced by three additional brethren from Berlin in the year 1844; and having in the mean time acquired a herd of cattle and a few horses, the produce of which, together with the labour of their hands in the cultivation of a small extent of land, supplied them with the necessaries of life, they continued to improve such opportunities as offered of communicating religious instruction to the aborigines, and of exercising a moral and religious influence among the white population of the humbler classes in and around Brisbane.

"The philanthropist," says Dr. Leichhardt, who resided for some time at the German Mission Station, as a guest of the Rev. Mr. Schmidt, in the year 1843, "could never find a purer and better nucleus for the commencement of a colony than these seven families of the missionaries are: they themselves excellent, tolerably well educated men, industrious, with industrious wives. They have twenty-two children; though very young, yet educated with the greatest care—the most obedient, the least troublesome children I have seen in this colony or elsewhere. If the Governor was in any way a man of more comprehensive views, and if he considered the moral influence of such a little colony on the surrounding settlers, he would not grudge them the few acres of land which they are at present in possession of. The missionaries have converted no black fellows to Christianity; but they have commenced a friendly intercourse with these savage children of the bush, and have shown to them the white fellow in his best colour. They did not take their wives; they did not take bloody revenge when the black fellow came to rob their garden. They were always kind, and perhaps too kind; for they threatened without executing their threatenings, and the black fellows knew well that it was only *gammon*."

I have only to add that when a great influx of German population took place into the neighbouring colony of Victoria, on the discovery of the gold-fields of that colony, two of the lay brethren of the German mission at Moreton Bay, who had there been virtually undergoing a long training for the work of the ministry, and acquiring at the same time a knowledge of the English language, which is indispensable for a German minister in the Australian colonies, were, on the invitation of the Rev. Matthias Goethé, the

superintendent of the German Lutheran Church of Victoria, ordained to the ministry for that colony, and are now labouring with great zeal and acceptance among their fellow-countrymen there—the Rev. Mr. Hausmann, at German-town, near Geelong, and the Rev. Mr. Niquet, at Ballarat.*

In the years 1854 and 1855, another effort was made at Brisbane to establish and support a mission to the aborigines, by a society called "The Moreton Bay Aborigines' Friends' Society," whose zealous and indefatigable agent, the Rev. W. Ridley, B.A., made a long circuit in the latter of these years of nearly two thousand miles in the western interior of the colony, of which the reader will find an exceedingly interesting report in Appendix I. As it was found, however, that a sufficient interest could not be awakened in the district to sustain a mission to the aborigines, Mr. Ridley retired from the field, and no further effort has been made to the present day.

* Mr. Goethé is a native of Rhenish Prussia, and had been engaged for several years in private tuition in the city of Brussels; where he had renounced the errors of Popery, and joined the communion of the French Reformed Church in that city. He went out with me, on my invitation, to New South Wales as a candidate for the ministry, in the year 1850, to be engaged in the first instance in the business of education in Sydney; but having been invited by his fellow-countrymen in Victoria, during a visit which he made for his health to that colony in the year 1853, to form and to undertake the pastoral charge of a Lutheran church in Melbourne, he accepted the call; having previously been licensed and ordained to the holy ministry by my brethren and myself in the Scots Church, Sydney; in connection with which he had for some time previous had a small German congregation under his ministry. Mr. Goethé is a man of eminent learning and talent, of fervent zeal, and of indefatigable energy; and I am happy to say, he has been the means of effecting an incalculable amount of good among his fellow-countrymen in all parts of the colony of Victoria. I have heard him preach repeatedly, and with almost equal fluency in the English, French, and German languages. Had the introduction of three such apostolic men as Mr. Goethé and his two coadjutors to their interesting field of labour in Australia, been the only service I had ever been honoured to render to my adopted country, I think I should not have lived in vain.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.—Introduction, page xvii.

Copy of a Petition to the Queen, from the Inhabitants of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers, for annexation to Queensland.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

The Petition of the undersigned Inhabitant Householders of the District of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers, in the Colony of New South Wales,

Humbly Sheweth,

1. That by the Act of the Imperial Parliament, 13th and 14th Victoria, chapter LIX., section 34, it is declared that "It shall be lawful for Her Majesty, from time to time, upon the petition of the inhabitant householders of any such of the territories, in the said recited proviso mentioned, as lie northward of the thirtieth degree of south latitude, to detach such territories from the colony of New South Wales, and to erect such territories into a separate colony or colonies, or to include the same in any colony or colonies to be established under the powers of the last-mentioned Act."

2. That in the forty-sixth section of the Constitution Act of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, which was sanctioned by the Act of the Imperial Parliament 18th and 19th Victoria, chapter LIV., it is declared, in evident recognition and confirmation of this proviso: "Provided always that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to prevent Her Majesty from altering the boundary of the colony of New South Wales on the north, as to Her Majesty may seem fit."

3. That in the despatch of the Right Honourable Mr. Labouchere, then Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, of date "Downing-street, 21st July, 1856," the following paragraph occurs:—

"1. The boundary between the two provinces. On this point I have had the valuable assistance of a memorandum drawn up by Mr. Deas Thomson when in England, as well as of the statements of gentlemen interested in the Northern Provinces. With the materials

thus before them, Her Majesty's Government will have no great difficulty in fixing on a line which will run not far to the south of the thirtieth degree of south latitude, but will be accommodated to suit the natural features of the country."

4. That at a public meeting held at Armidale, in the New England District of New South Wales, on the 30th December, 1850, certain resolutions, of which a copy was forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, were adopted, urging that that entire district or the whole territory to the northward of the thirty-second degree of south latitude, should be included in the proposed northern colony.

5. That in the month of October, 1856, a petition was presented to the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, by "certain magistrates, lessees of crown lands, and residents in the pastoral districts of New England, McLeay, Gwydir, and Clarence, and the various towns therein," praying for the establishment of an assize court at Armidale, which is situated as aforesaid in the New England District, thirty miles to the southward of the thirtieth degree of south latitude.

6. That in that petition, which was signed by 1550 persons, it is declared by the petitioners, that "They do not desire to be included in any section of the northern districts which may be separated from the present colony of New South Wales."

7. That although this petition was signed by certain of the inhabitants of the Clarence District, and was represented and held forth by the Parliament of New South Wales, as the deliberate and definitive opinion of the inhabitants of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers District, on the subject of their proposed separation from that colony, your Majesty will perceive that it could not possibly be so, for the following reasons: —

1st. The formal object of the petition in question was the establishment of an assize court at Armidale, in which the whole of the petitioners, both to the northward and to the southward of the thirtieth parallel, were then equally interested.

2nd. A large majority of the persons signing that petition, were resident to the southward of the thirtieth degree of latitude, and had therefore no right whatever, under the Act of the Imperial Parliament, 13th and 14th Victoria, to sign any petition affecting the future position of persons residing to the northward of that parallel.

3rd. The expression above recited could only refer, in the estimation of the large majority of the petitioners, to the Armidale Resolutions of 1850, in which it was urged that the boundary between the two provinces should be struck at the thirty-second parallel of latitude.

4th. The expression above referred to was inserted in the petition for the establishment of an assize court at Armidale, in an indirect and surreptitious manner, for the express purpose, as your Majesty's petitioners firmly believe, of defeating the object of the petitioners for separation at the thirtieth

parallel; as this could never have been effected, had the real intentions of its authors been disclosed.

8. That as soon as the illegitimate and unwarrantable use which was thus made of the petition for the establishment of an assize court at Armidale was discovered, a large number of the inhabitant householders of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers District petitioned your Majesty for separation at the thirtieth parallel of latitude; in accordance with the prayer of a whole series of petitions, commencing in the year 1851, from the inhabitants of Moreton Bay, who then constituted a large majority of the inhabitant householders to the northward of that parallel.

9. That in consequence of certain resolutions passed by the Parliament of New South Wales on the occasion referred to, ignoring, if not misrepresenting, the sentiments and opinions of the inhabitants of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers District, the Right Honourable Mr. Labouchere was induced to change his mind on the subject of the boundary between the two provinces, and to refer the matter to the Governor-general, Sir William Denison, who had no authority under the Act 13th and 14th Victoria to decide in any such case, but who, nevertheless, recommended as a suitable boundary, the twenty-eighth parallel from the coast to the table-land of New England, and the twenty-ninth from thence westward; thereby including in New South Wales the whole district of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers.

10. That the colony of Queensland was formed accordingly, with this boundary to the southward, during the year 1859, to the exclusion, and therefore to the great injury and loss of your Majesty's petitioners; who had an undoubted right, under the Act of Parliament, 13th and 14th Victoria, to be included in that colony from the first, and whose interests were consequently compromised and sacrificed on the occasion.

11. That when his Excellency Sir William Denison recommended the said boundary, he had never visited any part of the territory to the northward of the thirtieth parallel of latitude, and was personally entirely unacquainted with its physical character, its wants and capabilities; and that no proper and legitimate means had ever been taken to ascertain the sentiments and desires of the inhabitant householders of this district on the subject of their continued connection with New South Wales.

12. That while there is no well-defined natural boundary, such as there should always be between two conterminous provinces, at the tortuous and capricious line recommended by Sir William Denison, there is a strongly defined natural boundary at the thirtieth parallel of latitude, consisting of a ridge of high land separating the northern from the southern waters, and extending from the Pacific Ocean to the table-land of New England: and that this ridge is also continuous across the said table-land, in two conspicuous mountains, Mount Mitchell and Mount Benlomond.

13. That the country from the said table-land to the Pacific, to the

southward of the thirtieth parallel, is, for upwards of a whole degree of latitude, of so exceedingly broken and impracticable a character, that there is no intercourse whatever between the inhabitants of the Clarence River and those of the nearest settlements of New South Wales proper, to the southward of that line.

14. That the distance by the overland post route from Grafton, the principal town on the Clarence River, to Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, is 470 miles, by a road, for the first 100 miles from the northward, exceedingly difficult and almost impracticable; while the distance to Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, by a direct and easily practicable route, is only 180 miles.

15. That the distance to Sydney by the said overland post route from Ballina, at the mouth of the Richmond River, is 610 miles, while all the settlements on that river, from its source to its mouth, are within 100 miles of Brisbane.

16. That the Clarence and Richmond being both bar-mouthed rivers, and not unfrequently impracticable either for exit or entrance, for days and even weeks together, it is a matter of urgent necessity for the inhabitants of this district to have an easily and constantly practicable communication by land with their colonial capital; but that this, which would be of easy accomplishment if they had Brisbane for their capital, cannot be effected so long as they form a part of the colony of New South Wales.

17. That the position of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers District, as a mere appendage of New South Wales, and situated as it is at so great a distance from the seat of government, is most unfortunate for its inhabitants, and detrimental in the highest degree to their welfare and advancement; as in such circumstances the district can never have any weight in the general legislature, and must always be, as it has hitherto been, neglected in the apportionment of the general revenue.

18. That in proof of this allegation, the territorial revenue from this district, independently altogether of the revenue from customs, has amounted during the last three years to 80,000*l.*, while the whole expenditure in public works and buildings in the district has not exceeded 4000*l.*

19. That the superficial extent of the colony of New South Wales, exclusive of the whole territory to the northward of the thirtieth parallel of latitude, is, as nearly as possible, three hundred thousand square miles, an area equal to that of all Great Britain and France together; and that, although this extensive area includes much barren land, it nevertheless comprises vast tracts of land of very superior capabilities for pasture, for agriculture, and for mining, respectively.

20. That, in the opinion of your Majesty's petitioners, it is equally unreasonable and unjust for a country of such vast extent, and such unbounded resources, to endeavour to exercise domination over regions beyond its own proper limits, and to refuse to their inhabitants the benefits and blessings

of good government, which they can never enjoy as mere dependencies of New South Wales.

21. That the district of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers (which are both navigable for upwards of fifty miles for vessels of considerable burden), is estimated to contain a million and a half of sheep, half a million of cattle, and upwards of twelve thousand horses; that it includes a comparatively large extent of land of the first quality for agriculture, with an extensive auriferous region of great promise, and a population of upwards of ten thousand souls; and that, in the opinion of your Majesty's petitioners, the development of its vast resources and its advancement in general wealth and prosperity would be greatly promoted by its annexation to the colony of Queensland.

22. That whereas it is commonly alleged, as an unanswerable argument against the separation of this district from New South Wales, that the crown lands of that colony are all pledged to the public creditor for the payment of the public debt of the colony, and that no part or portion of these lands can be separated from the said colony without the consent or concurrence both of the legislature and of the public creditor, your Majesty's petitioners would humbly submit:—

1st—That no part of the public expenditure represented by the public debt of New South Wales has ever been incurred for the benefit of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers District.

2dly—That, with the exception of a comparatively small and insignificant amount, the whole of the present public debt of New South Wales has been contracted since the passing of the Imperial Act of the 13th and 14th Victoria, which authorised your Majesty to detach from New South Wales at any time on the mere petition of the inhabitant householders, either the whole or any part of the territory to the northward of the thirtieth parallel, without requiring either the assent or concurrence of the local legislature.

3dly—That to attempt in such circumstances to pledge any portion of the territory to the northward of the thirtieth parallel of latitude as a collateral security to the public creditor for the debt of New South Wales proper, is contrary alike to equity and common sense, if it is not tantamount to attempting to raise money on false pretences.

Your Majesty's petitioners therefore humbly pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take the premises into your Majesty's favourable consideration, and to detach from New South Wales and annex to Queensland as speedily as possible the district of the Clarence and Richmond Rivers.

And your Majesty's petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c., &c., &c.

Grafton, Clarence River,
September, 1860.

APPENDIX B. Page 64.

TRADE RETURNS FOR THE PORT OF BRISBANE AND COLONY OF QUEENSLAND.

(*From Pugh's Almanac for the year* 1860.)

EXPORTS FROM OCTOBER 1, 1858, TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1859.

Wool, 10,912 bales, weight 3,819,200 lbs.	@	1*s.* 9*d.*	£334,180	0 0
Tallow { 1466 casks / 749 paunches }	512½ tons		£45	23,062 10 0
Hides, 11,880			18*s.*	10,098 0 0
Sheepskins, 16,090			2*s.* 6*d.*	2,011 5 0
Calf do. 200			4*s.*	40 0 0
Bones, 84 tons			100*s.*	420 0 0
Horns, 21,000			100*s.*	105 0 0
Beef, 240 tierces			80*s.*	960 0 0
Pork, 42 casks			100*s.*	210 0 0
Tongues, 41 do.			60*s.*	123 0 0
Bacon, 170 cwt.			100*s.*	850 0 0
Oil (dugong), 200 gallons			40*s.*	400 0 0
Turtles 40			80*s.*	160 0 0
Cotton wool, 7 bales				70 0 0
Horses 24				600 0 0
Sheep { coastwise 8,600			20*s.*	8,600 0 0
Sheep { overland 40,000			12*s.*	24,000 0 0
Timber, cedar and pine boards, 510,000 ft.				3,825 0 0
Wooden houses, 6				200 0 0
Cattle (overland)			60*s.*	12,000 0 0
Coals, 3400 tons			15*s.*	2,550 0 0
Gold, 741 ounces			68*s.*	2,519 8 0
Fruit, various				1,000 0 0
Sundries				2,000 0 0
		Total		£429,984 3 0

By reference to previous returns published, the exhibits for the years 1857 and 1858 stand thus:—

Exports from Brisbane in year 1857	£355,237	14	0
Do do do 1858	363,515	17	0
The past year shows an excess over 1857 of	74,746	9	0
Do do do 1858 of	66,468	6	0

The staple exports for the past three years appear thus: —

Exports for 1857 of	Wool, 9,114 bales, valued at	£275,366	0	0
	Tallow, 674 tons „	26,965	0	0
	Hides, 10,299 „	11,857	0	0
	Sheepskins, 22,740 „	3,273	0	0
	Total. .	£317,461.	0	0
1858	Wool, 9,279 bales, valued at	£278,058	0	0
	Tallow, 799 tons „	28,697	0	0
	Hides, 15,487 „	11,857	0	0
	Sheepskins, 43,075 „	5,235	0	0
	Total. . .	£324,847	0	0
1859	Wool, 10,912 bales, valued at	£334,180	0	0
	Tallow, 512 tons „	23,062	0	0
	Hides, 11,880 „	10,098	0	0
	Sheep skins, 16,090 „	2,011	0	0
	Total. .	£369,351	0	0

Setting aside the exports from those ports hitherto claimed as lying within the 30th parallel of latitude, viz. rivers Clarence, Richmond, and Tweed, we find the exports from Queensland proper to stand for the past year as follows: —

Port of	Brisbane, Moreton Bay . . .	£429,984	3	0
„	Maryborough, Wide Bay . . .	141,474	0	0
„	Gladstone and Rockhampton, Port Curtis	43,490	0	0
	Total. .	£614,948	3	0

The exports from Brisbane in the year

1857	were in value	£355,237	14	0
1858	do	£363,515	17	0

as exhibited in the published returns of those previous.

In the year ending 30th September, 1859, the arrivals have been 112 vessels bringing 2310 passengers, and departures during the same period 108 vessels, conveying away 1248 passengers. The excess of arrivals over departures of passengers being 1062 persons.

IMPORTS COASTWISE IN THE PORT OF BRISBANE, MORETON BAY, FROM OCTOBER 1, 1858, TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1859.

Spirits and Fermented Liquors.

Rum	5 puns. 294 hhds. 20 cases	containing	15,240 galls.	@	12*s.*	£9,144	0 0
Brandy	126 hhds. 70 barls. 20 cases	„	8,440 „		20*s.*	8,440	0 0
Geneva	1290 cases 50 do.	„	4,406 „		16*s.*	3,524	16 0
Old Tom,	382 cases	„	764 „		16*s.*	611	4 0
Whisky	1 punch. 2 hhds. 6 barls. 170 cases	„	730 „		16*s.*	584	0 0
Wine	6 pipes 57½ do. 116¼ casks 536 cases. 33 hhds.	„	9,707 „		10*s.*	4,853	0 0
Ales and Beer	800 hhds. 1895 casks and cases		55,370 „			7,442	10 0
			94,657 galls.			£34,600	0 0

Colonial Produce.

Flour	30,058 bags	3254 tons	@ £24	£29,096	0 0
Maize		5112 bush.	5*s.*	1,278	0 0
Potatoes	6,022 bags	301 tons	£8	2,408	0 0
Oats		1010 bush.	6*s.*	303	0 0
Hay		76 tons	£9	684	0 0
Bran		2600 bush.	3*s.*	390	0 0
			Total value	£34,159	0 0

Assorted Merchandise.

Tobacco	15 tierces, 36½ do., 10 kegs	containing	24,000 lbs. @ 4*s.*	£4,800	0 0
Cigars			525,000 75*s.*	1,968	15 0
Tea	515 chests, 1612½ and ¼	containing	105,680 lbs.	8,441	0 0
Sugar			5,033 cwt.	12,582	10 0
Coffee			60 cwt.	336	0 0
Rice			80 tons	1,600	0 0
Salt, rock			10 tons	30	0 0
Do. Liverpool			209 tons	1,045	0 0
Slates			50,000	350	0 0
Pork			80 bar.	400	0 0
Horses			70	1,400	0 0
Live stock				1,500	0 0
Drays and carts			28	560	0 0
Carriages			17	850	0 0
Ironmongery				150,000	0 0
Drapery and haberdashery			7000 pks.	120,000	0 0
Assorted merchandise			36,000 pks.	144,000	0 0
Furniture			140 pks.	1400	0 0
			Total	£316,263	5 0

Total Imports Coastwise.

Spirits and fermented liquors	£34,600	0 0
Colonial produce	34,159	0 0
Assorted merchandise	316,263	5 0
Total	£385,022	5 0

IMPORTS, FOREIGN, INTO THE PORT OF BRISBANE, FROM OCTOBER 1, 1858, TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1859.

Rum	212 hhds., 2 barls	containing	11,804 galls. @ 12*s.*	£7,082	8 0
Brandy	17 hhds., 31 barls., 1132 cases	„	2,339 „ 22*s.*	2,572	0 0
Geneva, 711 cases		„	2,370 „ 16*s.*	1,896	0 0
Old Tom 258 cases		„	530 „	424	0 0

Whiskey { 11 barls. 250 cases. }	containing	813 galls.	@	£650	8 0
Perfumed spirits, 9 cases				36	0 0
Wine { 249¼ casks 313 cases }	„	8,490	„ 10*s.*	4,255	0 0
Cordials	„	20	„	15	0 0
Ales and Porter { 60 hhds. 34 barls. 1354 puns. }	valued at			4,595	0 0
Tobacco, 7,696 lbs.			4*s.*	1,539	4 0
Cigars, 200,000				800	0 0
Pianos, 3 in number				180	0 0
Wheat, 19,711 bushels				9,855	10 0
Flour, 10 tons				300	0 0
Assorted merchandise				23,897	0 0
				£58,087	10 0
Total imports, foreign and colonial, into the port of Brisbane, Moreton Bay, in the year ending 30th September, 1859				£443,109	15 0

APPENDIX C. Page 127.

PORT OF ROCKHAMPTON.

RETURN of Ships and Passengers, Inwards and Outwards, since the 2nd of October, 1858.

Name of Ship.	Inwards. Passengers.	Outwards. Passengers.	Name of Ship.	Inwards. Passengers.	Outwards. Passengers.
Duke of Wellington	44	61	*Brought forward* .	2489	1542
Wonga Wonga . .	320		Royal Sovereign .	273	150
Uncle Tom . . .	65	70	Warren Goddard .	6	
Storm King . . .	52	52	Hebe	90	
Malay	113	112	Mariposa	99	92
Callender	61	70	Willing Lass. . .	63	
Emily Hort . . .	63	62	Rialto	138	
Eagle	95		Dunedin	92	
Sarah	6		Drover.	78	
Bonnie Doon . .	97		Carolina	135	
Maria	72	1	Ellen Simpson . .	126	
Coquette	29		Mermaid	6	
Lady Grey . . .	25	25	Unknown. . . .	8	
Edward	14		Ripley	41	
Tamar	80		British Banner . .	190	
City of Sydney . .	325	300	General Wyndham	298	
Admella	144	170	Eagle	1	
Henry	46	4	Cornet.	2	
Sea Witch . . .	118	98	Elizabeth	48	
Cario	61		Golden Spring . .	75	
Ariel	62	6	Austral	226	
Cecilia.	2		Staghound . . .	56	48
Perseverance. . .	51		Jane	65	71
Vanquish	16		Cyclone	37	45
Victoria Packet. .	65		Swan	65	65
Don Juan. . . .	57	60	Pirate	. . .	121
Wonga Wonga . .	3	223	Jenny Lind . . .	6	60
Shamrock	84		Lavinia	27	20
Roderick Dhu . .	10		Otago	5	25
Sarah	2		Prince Arthur . .	187	
Yarra Yarra. . .	30	216	Ardoille	161	
Gazelle	132		Keystone	186	
George.	43		Eliza Goddard . .	86	
Carnation. . . .	2	12	Caroline	56	
Lalla Rookh . . .	63		Maori	120	
Brilliant	29		Regia	21	
Mary Jane . . .	8		Eagle	. . .	150
Carried forward .	2489	1542	Total . .	5562	2389

The Timandra, not reported, wrecked near Keppel Bay.

The Sybil, not reported, lying on her beam ends in the river. Cargo all damaged.

There must have been at least 500 arrivals previous to the date at which this return commences.

APPENDIX D. Page 172.

QUEENSLAND.—ANNO VICESIMO QUARTO VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

No. 11.—*An Act for Regulating the Occupation of Unoccupied Crown Lands in the Unsettled Districts.* [Assented to 17th September, 1860.]

Preamble.—Whereas it is expedient to make better provision for the occupation of the unoccupied waste lands of the crown in the unsettled districts: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Queensland in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:— . . . . . .

1. *Interpretation.*—The following terms within inverted commas, shall, for the purposes of this Act, unless the context otherwise indicate, bear the meanings set against them respectively— . . . .

Terms.	*Meanings.*
"Orders in Council."	—The Orders in Council and Regulations, or any one or more of them from time to time, issued under the imperial Act, 9th and 10th Victoria, chapter 104.
"Unsettled Districts."	—The districts declared to be of the unsettled class under the said Orders in Council on the commencement of this Act, and such other districts as shall be proclaimed to be open for licence or lease, within the provisions of this Act.
"Crown Lands."	—All lands vested in Her Majesty which have not been dedicated to any public purpose, or which have not been granted or lawfully contracted to be granted to any person in fee-simple, or for any less estate. And all lands which at the time of the passing of this Act, shall not be subject to any contract, promise, or engagement made by, or on behalf of Her Majesty.
"Run."	—Any portion of crown lands which shall be comprised in any licence or lease, granted under this Act for pastoral purposes.
"Gazette."	—*Queensland Government Gazette.*
"Appraisement."	—Settlement of rent by appraisers to be appointed as specified in section thirteen of this Act.

2. *Repeal of 22 Vict. No. 17, and portion of Orders in Council.* — On and from the commencement of this Act, the Act of Parliament of New South Wales, made and passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty, and numbered seventeen, intituled "An Act to impose an assessment on runs in the unsettled and intermediate districts, and to increase the rent of lands for leased pastoral purposes within the settled districts of New South Wales," so far as the same affects the provisions of this Act, and such parts of the orders in council and regulations now in force in Queensland, respecting waste lands of the crown, as are repugnant to any provision of this Act, shall be, and the same are hereby repealed: Provided that nothing herein contained shall prejudice anything already lawfully done under the said orders and regulations, or commenced or contracted to be done thereunder respectively.

3. *Commissioners to be appointed.* — The governor, with the advice of the executive council, shall from time to time appoint fit and proper persons to be commissioners of crown lands, who shall execute the provisions of this Act in such districts as may be assigned to them respectively: Provided that the governor, with the advice aforesaid, shall define and declare the duties of such commissioners, in regulations to be made for that purpose, pursuant to the provisions of section 33, hereinafter contained.

4. *Mode of obtaining a run.* — If any person shall be desirous of obtaining a run, he shall be at liberty to apply to the commissioner of the district, in which such run shall be situated, for a licence to occupy the same for one year from the granting of such licence, and every commissioner shall grant a licence of such run to the first applicant for the same, which application shall be entered in a book to be kept by the commissioner of the district for that purpose. Such entry shall contain a description of the run applied for, and shall be then signed by the applicant or his authorised agent, and such book shall be open for inspection by all parties on demand, by payment of a fee of two shillings and sixpence: Provided that, if two or more persons shall apply for any licence, the claim of that applicant shall be deemed preferable who has first occupied the run so applied for, during any period not exceeding sixty days previous to the making such application: Provided also that such occupation during a period not exceeding two months if followed by an application for a licence shall not be deemed a trespass under clause 29: Provided also that a return of all such licences from time to time be published in the *Gazette*. Provided also that no licence granted under this clause shall be transferable, unless the land comprised in such license shall have been stocked within the provisions of this Act, and except by operation of law.

5. *Description of runs to be given on application for licence.*—All applications for such licences shall be in the form required by any regulation made in pursuance of this Act, and must contain clear descriptions of the runs applied for, the boundaries thereof, and the marks or natural features

by which such boundaries are indicated, so as nearly as may be to describe the run according to the provisions of section 6 of this Act: Provided that it shall be lawful for the commissioner or other officer duly authorised to amend any such description, and to insert such amended description either in the licence or in the lease to be applied for and granted as hereinafter provided for, as well as in the commissioner's book, to be kept in accordance with clause 4 of this Act.

6. *Have power to amend description. Area of runs.*—Each run shall consist of not less than twenty-five square miles, nor more than one hundred square miles, and shall be of rectangular form, in which the external lines shall run east and west, and north and south, and the length shall be as nearly as may be equal to the width, subject, however, to such deviations as the general features of the country and the adoption of natural boundaries may require, and subject also to the exclusion of water necessary to the beneficial occupation of adjoining lands: Provided that in computing the area of any run, it shall be competent for the local commissioner to exclude any portion which may be unavailable for pastoral purposes.

7. *Occupation fee.*—Every person who shall obtain a licence as aforesaid, shall, on or within ninety days after obtaining such licence, pay into the treasury at Brisbane, as an occupation fee for the same, the sum of ten shillings per square mile, and unless such fee shall be so paid the licence shall be forfeited.

8. *Leases may be granted on application.*—Any holder of a licence shall be at liberty, within any time not less than three months prior to the expiration of the year for which his licence has been granted, to apply to the chief commissioner of crown lands, through the district commissioner, for a lease of the run comprised in such licence, and a lease of the same at the rent hereinafter specified shall be granted to such holder for a period of fourteen years, if such run shall at the time of the application for and the granting of such lease have been and shall be stocked to an extent equal to one fourth of the number of sheep, or equivalent number of cattle, which each run shall by this Act be deemed to be capable of carrying: Provided that where a lessee shall have two or more runs adjoining each other not exceeding in the aggregate 100 square miles, it shall be lawful for the said lessee to locate his stock on any or either of them.

9. *Defined capability of run.*—Every run shall be deemed to be capable of carrying at least one hundred sheep or twenty head of cattle per square mile.

10. *Date of lease.*—Every lease granted under the provisions of this Act shall bear date the 1st day of January or July preceding the application for such lease.

11. *Description of leased lands.*—In any licence or lease granted under the provisions of this Act, it shall be sufficient if the land thereby granted

or demised be defined according to the best description of such land and of the boundaries thereof which may have been procurable, notwithstanding that such description may not have been prepared after actual survey, and no licence or lease shall be liable to be set aside by reason only of the imperfection of any such description, so long as the land shall thereby be defined with reasonable certainty.

12. *Rent to be paid. Amount of rent during first four years. Amount of rent during residue of term.*—The lessee of every run shall, during the continuance of his lease, pay a yearly rent for the same, as hereinbefore mentioned, and such yearly rent shall be payable in advance at such time and place as shall be fixed by the governor with the advice aforesaid. 1st. The rent to be paid for each run during the first four years of any lease of the same shall be a sum of ten shillings per square mile, according to an estimate of the area of such run to be made by the commissioner and by the party applying, and in the event of their not agreeing, by an umpire, to be appointed as hereinafter provided. 2nd. The rent payable in respect of such lease for the succeeding periods of five years, and five years being the residue of the term comprised in such lease, shall be the appraisement made at the commencement of such periods of five years, and five years respectively, in proportion to the value of the run, its capabilities, advantages and disadvantages being considered: Provided that in no case during the first period of five years shall the rent be after a less rate than 25*l.*, nor a greater than 50*l.*; and during the second period of five years in no case shall it be less than after the rate of 30*l.*, nor more than 70*l.* per block of twenty-five square miles.

13. *Mode of estimating the rental of runs. If lessee shall refuse or fail to appoint a valuer, commissioner shall have the power to appoint him.*—In order to estimate the rent, as provided by section 12 of this Act, the lessee shall, within a period of not less than three months previous to the expiration of the fourth year of his lease, nominate, in writing, to a commissioner of the district in which his run is situated, a valuer on behalf of himself, and such commissioner shall act as valuer on behalf of the crown or name one to act for him; and these two valuers shall have power to choose, if necessary, an umpire, but if they cannot agree in the choice of an umpire, he shall be appointed by the governor with the advice aforesaid: Provided that if the lessee shall neglect or refuse, within the space of eight weeks after notice in writing to be given to him for that purpose by such commissioner, to appoint a valuer, it shall be lawful for such commissioner to appoint a valuer on such lessee's behalf, and such valuer shall be a valuer appointed by and acting on behalf of such lessee; and every valuation made under such appointment, as well as all other valuations under this Act, shall be published in the *Government Gazette* within one month after the same has been determined upon, and shall be deemed to be valid.

14. *Penalty for non-payment of rent.*—If default shall be made in the

payment of the rent the lease shall be forfeited, but the lessee shall be permitted to defeat the forfeiture and prevent its becoming absolute by payment within ninety days from the date of the original rent day of the full annual rent, with the addition of a sum equal to one fourth part thereof by way of penalty, but unless the whole of the said yearly rent together with such penalty as aforesaid shall be paid within the term of ninety days, counting from the original rent day inclusive, the lease shall be absolutely forfeited.

15. *Lease not applied for runs to be dealt with as crown lands.*—If any licencee of a run shall omit, or neglect to apply for a lease of the same, within the time specified in this Act, and according to the provisions thereof, or shall fail to obtain a lease of the same, or shall fail to keep up the amount of stock required to be on the run at the time of obtaining the lease, unless prevented by unavoidable accident, such run shall be dealt with as a forfeited or vacated run.

16. *Grants for public purposes.*—Nothing in this Act contained shall prevent the governor with the advice aforesaid, from making grants or sales of any lands comprised in any licence or lease for public purposes, or disposing of in such other manner as for the public interest may seem best, such lands as may be required for the sites of schools, or for the construction of high roads, or railways, and railway stations, or for other internal communications, whether by land or water, or for the use or benefit of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, or for public buildings, or as places for the interment of the dead, or places for the recreation and amusement of the inhabitants of any town or village, or as the sites of public quays or landing-places, on the sea-coast or shores of navigable streams, or for the purpose of sinking shafts and digging for gold, coals, iron, copper, lead, or other minerals, and effectually working gold, coal, iron, copper, lead, or other minerals, or for any other purpose of public defence, safety, utility, convenience, or enjoyment, or for otherwise facilitating the improvement and settlement of the colony.

17. *Resumption of run.*—The whole or any portion of any run may be reserved for public purposes, or resumed for sale or otherwise, after giving twelve months' notice. In case of resumption the proportionate rent paid or to be paid in respect of the quantity of land so resumed will be returned or allowed to the lessee.

18. *Value of improvements may be claimed in resumption.*—Whenever it shall be deemed expedient to resume for any purpose any land included in a lease, and whenever the term of any lease shall expire, the lessee may claim the value of improvements effected on land so sold or resumed, or of which the lease shall so expire, if such claim is made within two months after notice of such intended resumption, or after the expiry of such term, such value to be ascertained by valuation to be made in the manner prescribed by section 13 of this Act, and such valuation shall be conclu-

sive, and payment shall be made to the lessee according to such valuation: Provided always that such claim shall not be allowed to any such lessee who shall take the land included in such lease under any renewal or new lease thereof.

19. *Sale at auction of leases of forfeited and vacated runs.*—Runs which have been forfeited or vacated after the same have been leased shall be submitted to sale by public auction for the residue of the term specified in the original lease of the same, at the minimum upset price of ten shillings per annum for every square mile, and the rental shall be paid in advance; and any such run if unsold, may be once again put up for sale in like manner, and if not then sold, the governor, with the advice aforesaid, may reduce the minimum upset rent to such sum as may be deemed just and reasonable, and the same shall be again submitted for sale as aforesaid at such reduced upset price.

20. *Passage of stock.*—Any person driving horses, cattle, or sheep, along any road used or required for the purpose of travelling, may depasture the same on any crown lands, unless the same are enclosed within the distance of one half mile of such road, notwithstanding any lease of any such lands for pastoral purposes: Provided that, unless prevented by rain or flood, such horses or cattle shall be moved at least seven miles, and such sheep at least four miles in one and the same direction, within every successive period of twenty-four hours; and any person or persons driving horses, cattle, or sheep, or depasturing the same contrary to the provisions of this clause, shall forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding 20*l.* to be recovered before any two justices of the peace, at any court of petty sessions, and for every subsequent offence shall forfeit a like sum, provided that no information for any subsequent offence shall be laid until the expiration of one week, succeeding the filing of any preceding information.

21. *Licences to cut timber, &c., may be granted. Provided that any reasonable objection may be entertained by Government.*—The governor, with the advice aforesaid, may (subject to any regulations to be made as hereinafter enacted) authorise the commissioners or bench of magistrates to issue licences for any term not exceeding one year to enter any crown lands, whether under lease or licence, or not, and to cut and take therefrom, any timber, and to dig for and remove any gravel, stone, brick, earth, shells, or other material, but not within two miles of any head station unless by consent of the lessee, provided that the fee fixed for such licence shall be paid in advance: Provided also, that any lessee may make any reasonable objection to the granting of such licence, and the granting or withholding of such licence, after any objection shall have been made to the commissioner or bench of magistrates, shall be determined by the governor with the advice aforesaid: Provided that any lessee may, by notice in writing to that effect given to any such licencee restrict him or her from exercising his or her rights as such licencee in any given spot to be mentioned in such

notice, for a period not exceeding one month, and such licencee shall within such period appeal to the commissioner or nearest bench of magistrates, who shall have power respectively to decide the matter in issue between the parties, and such licencee shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding 20*l.*, if after such notice given as aforesaid, or in the event of the matter in issue being decided against him, he or she shall exercise the right of a licencee, which penalty may be recovered before any two of Her Majesty's justices of the peace in petty sessions in the manner prescribed by law.

22. *Use of timber or material by lessees.*—Lessees of runs shall be permitted to cut and use such timber and material for building and other purposes as may be required by them as tenants of their several lands.

23. *Removal of timber and material by other than lessees.*—Except as provided in clause 21 of this Act, lessees of runs shall not have power to restrict other persons duly authorised by the government either from cutting or removing timber, or material for building or other purposes, or from searching for any metal or mineral within the run leased.

24. *Commonage proclamation and regulations.*—The governor, with the advice aforesaid, may proclaim and set apart temporarily any crown lands for commonage purposes, for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of any city, town, or village, or other specified locality, and may make and proclaim regulations for the management of such commonage, or depute, or permit and suffer the mayor and corporation of any municipality to manage such commonage, and to make rules and regulations for the management of the same.

25. *Right to enter on lands.*—Nothing in this Act, or in any licence or lease granted thereunder, shall be held to prejudice or interrupt the right of the governor, or of any officer duly authorised in that behalf by the governor, with advice aforesaid, to go upon any lands included in any licence or lease, or to make any survey, inspection, or examination of the same.

26. *In case of dispute governor may refer.*—Whenever any dispute shall arise as to the boundaries of any runs, it shall be lawful for the governor or the officer duly authorised to act in that behalf, to require the same to be settled by arbitration, and which arbitration shall be in all respects conducted in the manner pointed out by section 13 of this Act with respect to the determination of the rent of such runs: Provided that nothing herein contained shall be held to bind the governor to refer any such dispute to arbitration, or to issue any lease pursuant to the award of such arbitration, unless the same shall be approved by him.

27. *Declaration to be made.*—Before any commissioner of crown lands, arbitrator, appraiser, or umpire shall enter into the consideration of any matter referred to him, he shall, in the presence of a justice of the peace, make and subscribe the following declaration, that is to say:—

I do solemnly and sincerely declare

that I have no pecuniary or other interest either directly or indirectly in the matter in question; that I will faithfully and honestly, and to the best of my skill and ability, hear and determine the matters referred to me under the provisions of an Act, entitled "An Act for regulating the Occupation of Unoccupied Crown Lands in the Unsettled Districts."

Made and subscribed in the presence of

And such declaration shall be annexed to the award when made: Provided that any commissioner of crown lands, arbitrator, appraiser, or umpire who shall make a false declaration, shall be punishable for perjury.

28. *Removal of trespassers.*—On information in writing preferred by any commissioner of crown lands, or other person duly authorised in that behalf, to any justice of the peace, setting forth that any person is in the unlawful occupation of any crown lands, or land reserved or dedicated for any public purpose, such justice shall issue his summons for the appearance before any two justices of the peace, at a place and time therein specified, of the person so informed against, and at such time and place such two justices, on the appearance of such person, or on due proof of the service of such summons on him, or at his usual or last place of abode or business, shall hear and inquire into the subject-matter of such information; and on being satisfied of the truth thereof, either by the admission of the person informed against or on other evidence, such justices shall issue their warrant, addressed to the sheriff or deputy sheriff, or commissioner of crown lands, or to any chief or district constable, requiring him forthwith to dispossess and remove such person from such land, and to take possession of the same on behalf of Her Majesty, and the person to whom such warrant is addressed shall forthwith carry the same into execution.

29. *Penalties for trespassing.*—Any person, unless lawfully claiming under any subsisting lease or licence or otherwise under this Act, who shall be found occupying any crown land, or land granted, reserved, or dedicated for public purposes, either by residing or by erecting any hut or building thereon, or by clearing, digging up, enclosing, or cultivating any part thereof, or cutting timber otherwise than firewood not for sale thereon, shall be liable on conviction to a penalty not exceeding 5*l.* for the first offence, and not exceeding 10*l.* for the second offence, and not exceeding 20*l.* for the third or any subsequent offence: Provided that no information shall be laid for any second or subsequent offence until thirty clear days shall have elapsed from the date of the previous conviction.

30 *Limitation of action.*—All actions or other proceedings against any commissioner of crown lands or other officer acting under the provisions of this Act, for anything wrongfully done under or against the provisions of this Act, shall be commenced within six months after the matter complained of was committed, and not otherwise. And notice in writing of any such action, and of the cause thereof, shall be given to the defendant one month at least before the commencement of the proceeding. And in

every such proceeding the defendant may plead the general issue, and give this Act and the special matter in evidence at any trial to be had thereupon; and no plaintiff shall recover in any such proceeding if tender of sufficient amends shall have been made before the same was commenced, or if a sufficient sum of money shall have been paid into court after such commencement by or on behalf of the defendant, together with costs incurred up to that time. And if a verdict shall pass for the defendant, or the plaintiff shall become nonsuit or discontinue such proceeding, or if upon demurrer or otherwise judgment shall be given against the plaintiff, the defendant shall recover his full costs, as between attorney and client, and have the like remedy for the same as any defendant has by law in other cases.

31. *No quashing for error nor certiorari.*—No order, judgment or proceeding made touching or concerning the matter aforesaid, or touching or concerning the conviction of any offender against this Act, shall be quashed or vacated for want of form only, or be removed or removable by certiorari, or by any writ or process whatsoever into the supreme court.

32. *Instruments under Act to be evidence.*—Any lease or other instrument issued under this Act may be proved in all legal proceedings by the production of a certified copy thereof, signed by the officer to be authorised for that purpose under any regulation made as hereinafter enacted.

33. *Governor may make regulations.*—It shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice aforesaid, from time to time to make, vary, and alter regulations respecting the forms of leases and licences granted under this Act, and respecting all matters and things necessary to give effect to the same, and every such regulation shall be published in the *Gazette*, and when published shall have the force of law.

34. *Regulations to be laid before Parliament.*—A copy of all regulations made under the authority of this Act shall be laid before the Parliament within fourteen days from the publication thereof, if the Parliament shall be then sitting, and if the Parliament shall not be then sitting, then within fourteen days from its next sitting for the despatch of business.

35. *Commencement and short title.*—This Act shall commence on the 1st day of October next, and shall be styled and may be cited as the "Unoccupied Crown Lands Occupation Act of 1860."

APPENDIX E. Page 222.

QUEENSLAND.—ANNO VICESIMO QUARTO VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

No. 15.—*An Act to provide for the Alienation of Crown Lands.* [Assented to 17th September, 1860.]

Preamble.—Whereas it is expedient to make better provision for the sale and other alienation of the waste lands of the crown within the colony of Queensland: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Queensland in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. *Repeal of Orders in Council and Regulations.*—From and after the commencement of this Act, the Acts of Council of New South Wales, 11 Victoria, number 61, and 16 Victoria, number 29, as well as so much of Her Majesty's Orders in Council and so much of the regulations made thereunder and now in force as may be repugnant to or inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, shall be, and the same are hereby, repealed: Provided that nothing herein contained shall affect anything lawfully done or commenced or contracted to be done thereunder respectively.

2. *Governor authorised to convey lands.*—Under and subject to the provisions of this Act and of such regulations as may hereafter be established in accordance with this Act, the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, is hereby authorised, in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty, to convey and alienate in fee simple, or for a less estate or interest, any waste lands of the crown within the said colony, which conveyances or alienations shall be made in such forms as shall from time to time be deemed expedient by the governor with the advice aforesaid, and, being so made, shall be valid and effectual in the law to transfer and vest in possession such lands as aforesaid for such estate or interest as shall be granted by any such conveyance as aforesaid.

3. *Proclamation of town and other reserves.*—It shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, by proclamation in the *Gazette*, to declare what portions of crown lands shall be set apart as the sites of new cities, towns, or villages, and also to declare what lands shall be reserved from sale for any public purpose: Provided that the governor, with the advice aforesaid, may, by proclamation in the *Gazette*, rescind, either in whole or in part, any such proclamation as aforesaid, in all cases in which sales of town lots shall not have taken place pursuant thereto.

4. *Grants for public purposes.*—It shall be lawful for the governor,

with the advice aforesaid, to grant or otherwise dispose of, for such public purposes as are specified in clause 16 of the Unoccupied Crown Lands Occupation Act of 1860, or for such other purposes as may from time to time be previously sanctioned by the legislature, any waste lands of the crown in the said colony.

5. *No land shall be sold for less than 1l. per acre, or until after survey.* — The price of land to be sold under this Act shall in no case be less than 1*l.* per acre, and the conveyance and alienation of such lands shall not be completed until the same shall have been surveyed and delineated in the public maps in the office of the surveyor-general.

6. *Land to be sold by auction.* — Except as herein otherwise provided, all waste lands of the crown in the said colony, before being so alienate or conveyed as aforesaid, shall be offered for sale by public auction at the office of the land agent in or nearest to the district in which such lands are offered for sale, and all particulars of such auction shall be fully notified by proclamation under the hand of the governor in the *Queensland Government Gazette*, not less than one month nor more than three months before the day of holding such auction.

7. *Lands offered for sale to be distinguished into classes and lots.* — All lands offered for sale by auction shall be distinguished into town, suburban, and country lots, and the town lots shall comprise all lands situate within the actual boundaries of towns, and the suburban lots shall comprise all lands situate within two miles from the nearest boundary of any town, unless the governor, with the advice aforesaid, shall see fit to exclude any such last-mentioned lands from the class of suburban lots, on the ground that they will not, in his judgment, derive any increased value from their vicinity to any such town, and the country lots shall comprise all other lands; and the governor, with the advice aforesaid, may from time to time fix the upset price of any lot or lots at any sum being not less than the lowest upset price of waste lands within the said colony.

8. *Unsold country lots may be sold by private contract.*—Any lots which shall have been offered for sale by auction in manner aforesaid, and shall remain unsold either at the time of the passing of this Act or subsequently thereto, or on which the deposits hereinafter specified shall have been forfeited, may be sold at the office of the land agent aforesaid by private contract at the upset price, or, in case of such forfeiture as aforesaid, at the price for which they were sold at auction, less the amount of the deposit paid and forfeited on them: Provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent any such lots aforesaid from being withdrawn from sale by private contract and again offered for sale by public auction in the same manner as other lots not previously offered for sale.

9. *Purchase money when to be paid.*—No waste lands of the crown within the said colony shall be sold by such private contract as aforesaid, except for ready money, and no lands shall be sold at any such public auction as

aforesaid, unless on condition of the payment at the time of sale, in ready money or land order, of a deposit the amount of which shall be fixed by any proclamation as aforesaid, and being not less than one-tenth of the whole price, and of the payment of the residue of such price within one calendar month from the time of such sale by auction; and if the purchaser shall fail to pay such residue of the price within one calendar month, the deposit shall be forfeited, and the sale of the said lands shall be null and void.

10. *Agricultural reserves.*—Within a period of six months after the passing of this Act it shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, by proclamation, to define and set apart for agricultural occupation not less than 100,000 acres on the shores or navigable waters of Moreton Bay, Wide Bay, Port Curtis, and Keppel Bay, and also, within five miles of all towns whose inhabitants shall exceed 500 in number, reserves of at least 10,000 acres of land, and also such other reserves as the governor, with the advice aforesaid and with the approval of the legislature, shall from time to time think fit; and the land so defined and set apart shall be surveyed, and shall be called agricultural reserves, and shall not be submitted to public auction, but shall be sold at the fixed price of 20*s.* per acre, subject to the provisions hereinafter contained in that behalf: Provided that it shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice aforesaid, by proclamation, to withdraw and deal with as country lands or otherwise the whole or any portions of such reserves, but that at no time after the survey shall there be less than half of the above quantity open to selection within the said agricultural reserves.

11. *Method of obtaining farm in agricultural reserve.*—Any person who may be desirous of occupying land within an agricultural reserve shall apply at the office of the land agent in or nearest to the district in which such reserve has been marked out, and shall point out on the map thereof such lot or lots which he may wish to select, and shall pay in advance 20*s.* for every acre; and if within six months he shall have occupied and commenced to improve or cultivate the same, then a deed of grant of the land shall be issued: Provided that if, at the termination of such six months as aforesaid, either the farm applied for, or such other lands contiguous thereto as may be leased according to the provisions of clause 12 of this Act, shall not have been occupied, and improvements shall not have been made thereon, then the purchase money, less ten per cent., shall be returned to the applicant, and the land so purchased or leased as aforesaid shall be again open to selection.

12. *Lease of land contiguous to farm.*—It shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice aforesaid, to lease to the occupant of a farm within an agricultural reserve any portion of the lands contiguous to such farm not being already sold or leased as herein provided, and not exceeding in extent three times the amount of purchased land comprised in such farm,

nor exceeding in the whole, including the purchased land, 320 acres, for the term of five years, at a yearly rent of 6*d.* per acre, such rent to be paid annually in advance; and such lessee shall be entitled during the currency of his lease to purchase any part or the whole of the land so leased to him, if the same shall have been fenced in, notwithstanding that another person may be an applicant for the purchase of the same: Provided that if any such lessee shall fail to pay the rent of the land so leased to him within thirty days from the date of such rent becoming due, or shall fail to fence in the land so leased to him with a substantial fence within eighteen months from the commencement of such lease, the said lease shall thereupon become void: Provided also that it shall not be competent for any person to hold any such lease as agent for another, or to borrow, by way of mortgage or otherwise, on the security of such lease.

13. *Farms not to be less than forty or more than* 320 *acres.*—No farm to be sold within an agricultural reserve as hereinbefore mentioned shall be less than forty acres in extent, and no person shall become the purchaser of more than 320 acres in all within the same reserve: Provided that such lands so selected by one person shall be in one lot or in conterminous lots.

14. *Commonage.*—All the unenclosed lands within any agricultural or other reserve shall be subject to such rights of commonage as may be secured to the purchasers of land within such reserve and to the residents in any adjacent township, and determined by regulations to be hereafter made in that behalf.

15. *Sale in consideration of improvements.*—Upon application made within twelve months after the passing of this Act by any person who may prior thereto have made improvements upon lands comprised within the boundaries of any city, town, or village, or upon application, within twelve months after the proclamation in the *Government Gazette*, of any new city, town, or village reserve, within which improvements may be situated, it shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice aforesaid, to sell the allotment or allotments containing such improvements to the owner of such improvements without competition at its fair value in an unimproved state, not being less than the minimum upset price of such lands.

16. *Closing and alienation of unnecessary roads.*—Whenever the owner or owners of any lands adjoining a road which has been reserved for access to such lands only, and is not otherwise required for public use, shall make application for the closing of such road, it shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice aforesaid, to notify in the *Government Gazette* that such road will be closed; and after the expiration of two months from such notice, a grant or grants of the road so closed may be issued to the owner or owners of the adjoining lands in fair proportion, or in accordance with agreement among such owners: Provided that the fair value of such road as estimated by the surveyor-general be paid for the same.

17. *Sales without competition in special cases.*—In cases in which there

may be no convenient way of access to any portion of crown land, or in which any portion may be insufficient in area for public sale, or in which a portion of crown land may lie between land already granted and a street or road which forms or should form the way of approach to such granted land, or in which buildings erected on lands already granted may have extended over crown lands, or in any other cases of a like kind, the governor may, with the advice aforesaid, sell and grant such lands to the holder or holders of adjacent lands without competition, and at a price to be determined by the surveyor-general or other officer duly authorised in that behalf.

18. *Remission of purchase money to officers.* — Nothing in this Act contained shall be held to alter or discontinue such regulations made under the authority of Her Majesty and now in force in the Australian colonies as provide under certain conditions for the remission of purchase money to officers of the British army and navy who may become purchasers of land in the colony of Queensland.

19. *Land orders may be given to certain officers, soldiers, and sailors.* — It shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice aforesaid, to extend to any such officer of the British army and navy, having served seven years and upwards, as may not be entitled to a remission of purchase money under the imperial regulations last hereinbefore mentioned, and to any British soldier or sailor who has been discharged with a certificate of good conduct, the benefit of a remission of purchase money, in accordance with such regulations, to the amount of 50*l.*: Provided that such soldiers and sailors shall be certified to be in sound bodily health and not more than forty-five years of age, and shall be bound, under conditions to be agreed upon between the governor and the Secretary of State for War, to serve when called upon for the defence of the colony.

20. *Land orders may be given to immigrants.* — It shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to issue to any adult immigrant who shall have come direct from Europe to the colony of Queensland, but not at the expense of the said colony, or to the person who shall have paid for the passage of such immigrant, a land order for the amount of 18*l.*; and after such immigrant shall have resided not less than two years continuously within the said colony, and if not previously a British subject shall have been naturalised, then to issue to such immigrant a further land order for the amount of 12*l.*: Provided that two children over the age of four and under the age of fourteen respectively shall be reckoned as one statute adult under this Act: Provided also that every such immigrant shall have complied with and shall be of the class comprised within the immigration regulations for the time being in force in the said colony.

21. *Premium for growing cotton.*—In order to encourage the growth of cotton within the said colony, it shall be lawful for the governor, with the

advice aforesaid, to issue land orders during the next three years to the extent of 10*l.*, and during the two years next following the said period of three years to the extent of 5*l.*, by way of premium for every bale of good cleaned Sea Island cotton, without any admixture of damaged or discoloured, and weighing 300 lbs., the growth and produce of the colony, which may be exported to Great Britain; and during the said periods one-half the above premiums shall be given for the common descriptions of cotton.

22. *Grants for mining purposes.*—In cases where persons or companies shall be desirous of purchasing lands for mining purposes other than for coal or gold, it shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice aforesaid, to sell the same to such persons or company at the upset price of twenty shillings per acre, provided that the quantity sold to one person or company shall in no case exceed 640 acres.

23. *Governor may make regulations.*—It shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice aforesaid, from time to time to make or alter, in accordance with the provisions of this Act, such regulations as may be necessary to give effect to the same; and all such regulations shall be published in the *Government Gazette*, and when so published shall have the force of law, and a copy of the same shall be laid before the Parliament within fourteen days after the publication thereof, or, if the Parliament be not then sitting, then within fourteen days after its next meeting for the despatch of business.

24. *Short title.*—This Act shall be styled and may be cited as "The Alienation of Crown Lands Act of 1860."

APPENDIX F. Page 240.

A COMPLETE GUIDE TO THE PLANTING OF COTTON IN NORTH AUSTRALIA FOR ALL PLACES WITHIN REACH OF THE SEA BREEZE, DICTATED BY THE EXPERIENCE OF HENRY JAMES SLOMAN, COTTON PLANTER, OF NORTH AUSTRALIA.

Cultivation of Six Acres by Hand Labour—One Man's Work.

First cut down the timber, burn it off, or remove it from the ground; then throw a strong fence round the ground to keep off all cattle, for, should they have access to the cotton trees, they will either eat them or trample them to pieces. When the ground is fenced, take a good heavy

sharp hoe about six inches in breadth, and cut off all the grass clean, and deep enough to kill all the roots, after which the grass and all other rubbish should be burnt. Then take a grubbing hoe, which ought to be four inches wide, and break up the ground fine, and fully a foot deep, taking care to cut everything that comes in the way of the hoe. Should the season be late, say October, plant the ground with maize, for October would be too late for cotton, and a maize crop would do the ground good, as it would cause it to get an extra turning. When the corn is gathered in March, break up the ground fine, nine or ten inches deep, and draw it into ridges of six feet wide, taking care to make suitable cross-ditches so arranged as to carry off the water during heavy rains, or retain it when the retention of it would be beneficial to the crop. In April, should there be any rain, plant the cotton seed in the centre of each ridge, and, should the seed be fresh and good, it will all grow. Plant three seeds in a triangle of about six inches, and let every triangle be six feet apart. Do not put the seeds in the ground more than one inch deep. Should the ground be moist and warm, the plant will be up in a week; but should any of the seeds fail to vegetate, then fill up the vacancies with more seed. The adoption of this method precludes the necessity of destroying any of the plants. By planting in April, the plants will be strong and pod early, and hence the planter will be able to begin to pick in November. The seed may be planted during any month in the year, when there is rain, or when the ground is in a moist state; but April, May, June, July, August, and September are the proper planting months. When the cotton is planted during the latter month, a crop of corn may be grown between the cotton plants, as they will not require all the ground that year, on account of having been planted late; but should the season be very favourable, that is, should there be abundance of rain, the cotton trees would require all the ground before the corn could be got off, and therefore it would be useless to plant the latter; but on this head experience will soon teach the planter when he should sow corn and when he should not. The cotton trees should always be kept clear and free from grass, and in effecting this the hoe should be used very freely.

Failures and accidents occur sometimes in cotton planting as well as in other pursuits. The trees often fail owing to various causes. Some fail because they are overgrown by adjacent plants, and others in consequence of the continuance of dry weather. The planter must do his best to remedy all these failures, and then he may be sure that he will have a good standing field at the end of the third year, notwithstanding that he may have picked three good crops. A good average crop is 1600 lbs. of seed cotton per acre, which will yield 400lbs. of clean lint, or one bale, worth always not less than 30*l.* sterling.

Now one able-bodied and industrious man could do a great deal more than merely cultivate six acres of cotton. If he were a married man and had a family of four or five children to assist him, he could grow corn, potatoes,

vegetables, as well as attend to many other things besides cultivating a cotton crop; so that no horticultural or agricultural pursuit could be more profitable than that of cotton planting.

Management of the Trees.

The trees will last during the lifetime of the planter, and longer if they are properly managed, and hence accurate instructions as to the proper mode of treating them are of great importance to the cotton grower.

When any of the trees fail they should be cut off close to the ground or even under it, and young and vigorous plants transplanted in their place. The young trees should be transplanted before they have borne cotton or even come into blossom; and, should the weather be dry, they must be kept well watered until they have taken root and are out of danger. Whole fields may be covered with a cotton crop by transplanting the young plants, provided there be long-continued wet weather, or the planter should have the means of irrigation at hand. Whether the moisture be procured from natural or artificial sources, the plants must be watered for a sufficient length of time after being transplanted, for were this not done the crop would fail. Should the spring prove dry the trees will be backward, and should the year be dry throughout the growth will be exceedingly small; but should there be abundance of rain in the months of October and November, the planter may be sure of having plants of wood, and, as a necessary corollary, plants of good cotton. The cotton should be gathered as soon as the pods open, or otherwise the cotton bugs would injure it by eating the staple asunder. As soon as the bearing shoots have made all their pods, and the lower ones are picked, all the main branches which throw out the bearing branches will begin, should the weather prove favourable, to make the second set of branches from the same eyes, and close alongside of the first bearing branches, which will be ready for picking in April; so that, should there be a good year, the planter will have two full crops. As the picking proceeds it is necessary that the plants should be pruned, as the dead leaves get in the way and stain the cotton. The picking will be finished at the end of July, for the cotton becomes poor and dull at that time, and the trees also must then be pruned thoroughly in order to insure the next summer crop. At this time the ground should be hoed up, and all rubbish carried off, which will complete the outdoor operations of the first year. There will now be plenty of time to gin the cotton, pack it off to market, and plant any other things that may be required.

The six acres of ground now planted with cotton may receive a good dressing from the hoe. This can be readily effected, because, in consequence of the ground having been broken up a foot deep at first, the top root throws out its main side roots a good depth from the surface, and therefore

the hoeing may be from two to three inches deep without doing any mischief. It is well, at the end of each year, to hoe down the ridges, and let the ground lie loose for a while, taking care to hoe in the dead leaves, which will serve as manure for the trees.

Before the young shoots grow too much, all the ridges should be raked up properly, and all the watercourses cleaned out, and the ground cleared, as the young shoots are very tender, and liable to be broken by people working amongst them. Let not the planter suppose that the trees are overgrown whenothey lie upon the ground, inasmuch as that is an effect produced by the branches being slender and the pods heavy. The cotton should be kept well picked, as in wet seasons, unless well looked after, it will begin to grow in the pods. Remember that during the first year the trees are not to be cut down nor topped, but merely pruned, all the main branches being left standing.

Second Year.

Should the season prove favourable, the picking will be from the trees doubly grown, and covering the ground all over, and the knife must be freely used, inasmuch as, should it not be so used, half the crop will not be gathered. There will be plenty of work this year, from the beginning of December until the end of July, that being the end of the cotton year. At that time there will be plenty of cotton on, and pods not open, but this must be disregarded in order to insure the health and pod-bearing ability of the trees. The trees will at this time be very large, and will comprise not only a main stem but very many stems besides, and many young shoots still coming out, and the planter will therefore cut away one tree and leave one growing; that is to say, he will cut away the main stem at about two feet and a half from the ground, and all the large branches at about from three inches to a foot, leaving two or three eyes between the part where the branch is cut and the main trunk or stem. Let all the young green branches that have never flowered remain on the tree, but cut off all that have pods on them and that seem likely to open soon, for all such pods at this season do not open, but only make what is technically called "feints." As the season is ended, carry off all rubbish, hoe the ground deep, and if possible let it have a good soaking before the ridges are drawn up. This is the proper method of cultivating cotton in North Australia, within the tropic of Capricorn, on the sea coast, or as far inland as the sea breeze affects it.

When the weather is very dry and the cotton opens quick, and the seeds are hard, the cotton should not be exposed on the frame for sunning as at other times. The cotton during such weather should be left in a cool place in heaps for a week, at the expiration of which time it will be found to have grown all out of the seed, and to have all the yolk in it, as should

be the case with fully matured cotton. If the cotton be really good it will have a bluish yellowish soft colour, and feel firm, lively, and full in the hand, just the same as good fine wool would do; and this is what is meant by the phrase "feeling the yolk in it." The greatest care should be taken not to sweat the cotton, as sweating causes it to lose all its beauty and value.

I have three sorts of fine cotton, about equal in value, and I let them grow together; but if I could procure sufficient labour I would grow them separately. There are about 4400 of my seeds to the pound weight, and I think 4900 yards of ground to the acre, so that planting the seeds in the manner already pointed out would give about 3675 trees to the acre. It is a very poor season indeed if every tree does not yield $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of cotton, so that the average value of the yield from an acre is very easily estimated. One of my sorts, and that too the best, will not admit of being planted so close as the other sorts of cotton. Half a pound of the seed of this sort will plant an acre.

APPENDIX G 1. Page 294.

QUEENSLAND. — ANNO VICESIMO QUARTO VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

No. 6. *An Act to provide for Primary Education in Queensland.*
[Assented to 7th September, 1860.]

Preamble. — Whereas it is expedient to make further and better provision for the establishment and maintenance of schools, and for the promotion of primary education in the colony of Queensland, and for the administration by one board of the funds provided by Parliament or otherwise for that purpose: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Queensland in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows: —

1. *Repeals* 11 *Vic. No.* 48, 16 *Vic. No.* 16, *and* 22 *Vic. No.* 11, *and vests property in Board of Education.* — The Acts of Council 11 Vic. No. 48, 16 Vic. No. 16, and 22 Vic. No. 11, are hereby repealed, and the Board of National Education is dissolved, and all lands held by or in trust for the said Board of National Education shall become vested in the Board of General Education to be appointed as hereinafter contained, but upon the same or like trusts, and for the same purposes, and subject to the same

contracts, liabilities, and claims, as those upon and for and subject to which the said Board of National Education now hold the same.

2. *Appointment of board by governor in council.*—It shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to appoint five persons, of whom three shall be a quorum, to be called "The Board of General Education," for the purpose of superintending the formation and management of primary schools within the colony of Queensland, and for the purpose of administering such sums of money as may be voted by Parliament, together with such other funds as may in any manner be or become disposable by them on account of primary education as herein provided: Provided that no person so appointed shall continue to act as a member of the said board for a period exceeding five years, unless re-appointed by the governor with the advice aforesaid: Provided also that any such person absenting himself from more than six consecutive duly convened meetings of the said board without leave being first granted him by the said board or by the governor with the advice aforesaid, shall *ipso facto* be disqualified from acting as a member thereof.

3. *Vacancies supplied.*—It shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to remove any member or members of the said board, and to appoint another or others in his or their stead, and as often as any vacancy shall occur by the death, resignation, or absence as aforesaid of any of the members of the said board, then it shall be lawful for the said governor to nominate and appoint a successor or successors to such member or members, and all such appointments shall be published in the *Queensland Government Gazette*, upon which the person or persons so appointed shall to all intents and purposes be invested with the same powers, authorities, capabilities, and privileges in law and equity as the member or members in whose stead he or they shall be so appointed to succeed had held and enjoyed.

4. *Chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and other officers.*—A minister of the crown, representing the government either in the Legislative Council or the Legislative Assembly, shall be *ex officio* chairman of the board in addition to the members appointed as aforesaid, and one of the members of the board to be chosen by themselves shall be vice-chairman, and the board shall have power to appoint a secretary and all other officers necesary for the proper performance of the duties intrusted to the said board.

5. *Incorporation of board.*—The said board and their successors for ever, to be appointed as herein provided, shall be a body politic and corporate, by the name and style of "The Board of General Education," and shall by that name have perpetual succession and a common seal, and shall by the same name, from time to time and at all times hereafter, be capable to receive, purchase, acquire, and possess to them and their successors, as members of the said board, to and for the uses of the said corporation, any messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, of what nature, kind, or

quality soever, within the said colony, and also to receive, purchase, acquire, and possess to and for the same uses and purposes any goods, chattels, gifts, or benefactions whatsoever, and shall and may by the same name be capable to sue and to be sued both at law and in equity in like manner as any other body politic or corporate, or any persons capable to sue and be sued in law or in equity in any manner whatsoever.

6. *Board empowered to make rules.*—The said board shall have power from time to time to make rules and bye-laws for their own guidance as to all matters within the meaning and intent of this Act, such rules and bye-laws to have the same force and virtue as if embodied in this Act: Provided that all such rules and bye-laws shall be approved by the governor and Executive Council, and shall be published in the *Queensland Government Gazette*, and shall be laid before both houses of Parliament within one month after the next ensuing session, and shall be in all respects in accordance with the spirit of the national system of education as hitherto carried on in the colony of New South Wales, except so far as herein is otherwise provided.

7. *Board may assist any primary school.*—The board may assist any primary school that may be submitted to its supervision and inspection, and that may conform to the rules and bye-laws and fulfil all the requirements of the board: Provided that it shall not be competent to the said board to contribute towards the building or repair of any school unless the fee simple thereof shall have been previously vested in the said board.

8. *Inspection of schools.*—The board shall cause all schools receiving aid under this Act to be periodically visited by paid inspectors; and all assistance shall be immediately withdrawn from any school which shall not be conducted in accordance with the rules and bye-laws of the board: Provided that nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorise any inspection of or interference with the special religious instruction which may be given in any such school during the hours set apart for such instruction.

9. *Exhibition.*—It shall be lawful for the board to set apart from the funds at their disposal a proportion not exceeding five per cent. upon the whole annual amount, for the purpose of granting exhibitions at some one or other of the grammar schools of the colony to such scholars in any primary schools as shall have been proved by competitive examination to be entitled thereto.

10. *Normal and industrial schools.*—The board may devote a portion of the funds at their disposal in assistance of the establishment

(A) of normal or training schools,

(B) of industrial schools either in connection with any public primary schools or otherwise.

11. *Report and general statement of accounts to be laid before the governor and Executive Council and both houses of Parliament.*—The board shall,

in the month of January in each and every year, lay before the governor and the Executive Council a report of the condition of the schools under their supervision, and a general statement of accounts, and copies of such report and statement of accounts shall be laid before both houses of Parliament within six weeks after the then next ensuing meeting thereof.

12. *Short title.*—This Act shall be known and may be cited as "The Education Act of 1860."

APPENDIX G 2., Page 294.

QUEENSLAND.—ANNO VICESIMO QUARTO VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

No. 7. *An Act to provide for the Establishment of Grammar Schools in Queensland.* [Assented to 7th September, 1860.]

Preamble.—Whereas it is expedient for the encouragement of learning that public grammar schools should be established in the colony of Queensland, for conferring on all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the said colony, without any distinction whatsoever, the advantages of a regular and liberal course of education: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Queensland in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. *When* 1000*l. is subscribed, governor may order twice the amount to be paid to trustees for building.*—If at any time hereafter, and so often as a sum of not less than 1000*l.* shall have been raised by donation or subscription in any district for the purpose of establishing a public grammar school within such district, it shall in every such case, upon the written application of the donor or subscribers of the said sum, be lawful for the governor, with the advice of his Executive Council, by warrant under his hand, to direct to be issued from time to time out of the general revenue of the colony, and paid to trustees to be appointed as hereinafter provided, a corresponding sum or sums not exceeding in the whole twice the amount that shall have been raised by such donation or subscription as aforesaid, and such sum or sums shall be applied to the erection of suitable buildings for the said school, and for the residence of the head master thereof, and to such other purposes connected with the permanent establishment thereof as may be from time to time embodied in resolutions by the said trustees, to be

approved by the governor with the advice aforesaid: Provided that the site of the school, plans and specifications of the buildings to be erected, shall first have been laid before the governor and Executive Council and approved by the governor by writing under his hand.

2. *Appointment and incorporation of trustees.*—Whenever the said sum of not less than 1000*l.* shall have been raised within any district, and application shall have been made in writing as above mentioned, and approved of in manner aforesaid, then and in every such case there shall be nominated and appointed seven persons resident within the said district, whereof four shall be nominated and appointed by the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, and three by the said donors, or by a majority of persons subscribing to the amount of 5*l.* each, voting by ballot, subject to the approval of the governor, with the advice aforesaid; and the appointment of such seven persons shall be notified in the *Government Gazette*, whereupon they shall forthwith be and become a body politic and corporate, with perpetual succession, by the name or style of "The Trustees of the [*name of district*] Grammar School," and shall have a common seal, and shall by the same name from time to time and at all times hereafter be capable to receive, purchase, acquire, take, and hold to them and their successors in trust for and to and for the purposes of such school any messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of what nature or kind soever, and also to receive, purchase, acquire, and possess upon the same trusts, and to and for the same purposes, any goods, chattels, gifts, or benefactions whatsoever, and shall and may by the same name be capable to sue and be sued both at law and in equity in like manner as any other body politic or corporate, or any person capable to sue and be sued at law or in equity, and shall and may by the same name be capable to grant, demise, alien, or otherwise deal with all or any of the property real or personal belonging to the said school, and also to do all other matters and things, and have and enjoy all rights and privileges incidental to or appertaining to a body politic or corporate: Provided that no trustee so appointed as herein contained shall continue to act as such trustee for a period exceeding three years, unless re-appointed by nomination or re-election, as hereinbefore provided: Provided also that any such trustee absenting himself for more than six months from duly convened meetings of the said trustees shall *ipso facto* be disqualified from acting as such trustee: Provided that whenever the said donor, or not less than three subscribers towards any such school, shall, from any cause whatever, become incapable of acting as heretofore provided in respect of the election of trustees, the right of election of any trustee or trustees shall be vested in that municipality which shall be nearest to such schools.

3. *500l. a year may be granted to each school.*—It shall be lawful for the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, whenever fees to the amount of 250*l.* per annum shall be promised by responsible persons for a

period of not less than three years, by warrant under his hand, to direct to be issued and paid out of the general revenue of the colony to the credit of each of the said bodies of trustees, by four equal quarterly payments, on the 1st day of January, the 1st day of April, the 1st day of July, and the 1st day of October in every year, a sum or sums not exceeding in the whole 500*l.*, as a fund for defraying or contributing to the several stipends which shall be appointed to be paid to the several masters or teachers in the said schools respectively, and for or towards discharging all incidental and necessary current expenditure connected with the said schools.

4. *Ten per cent. of annual endowment may be reserved for scholarships.*—It shall nevertheless be lawful for the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to retain and reserve, in any year that he may see fit, from and out of all and every or one or more of the several sums payable under the last section to the said several bodies of trustees respectively, any sum not exceeding ten per cent. of the amount payable in each year; and all such sums, when so retained and reserved, shall form a general fund for providing one or more scholarships or exhibitions of an annual value to be determined by the governor in council at any British or Australian university, and such scholarships or exhibitions shall be open to the pupils of all the grammar schools established under the provisions of this Act: Provided that such scholarships or exhibitions shall only be obtained after public competitive examination, according to such regulations as by the governor in council may be established.

5. *Permanent endowment in land.*—In order that the said schools may eventually be provided with a permanent endowment, it shall be lawful for the governor, and he is hereby empowered, with the advice of the Executive Council, subject to the approval of the legislature, to grant in fee simple to the trustees of any one or more of the said schools any portion (the estimated value of which shall not exceed the sum of 2000*l.*) of the crown lands lying within or near the district in which the school is situate for whose benefit such grant shall be made.

6. *Power to trustees to lease.*—Provided always that it shall not be lawful for the said trustees to alien, mortgage, charge, or demise any messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments to which they may become entitled by grant, purchase, or otherwise howsoever, unless with the sanction of the governor and the Executive Council, except by way of lease, for any term not exceeding twenty-one years in possession; and upon every lease so granted there shall be reserved and made payable, during the whole of the term thereby granted, the best yearly rent that can reasonably be obtained for the same without taking any premium, fine, or foregift for the making thereof.

7. *Return to be made of value and condition of trust property.*—If any such grant of land as aforesaid shall at any time be made, then and in every such case the trustees shall, within one month after the commence-

ment of each year, send in to the Colonial Secretary a return of the then value of the land so granted, and of the profits, if any, derived therefrom during the previous year, and the amount of such profits may be deducted from the amount which would otherwise be payable to the said trustees for the ensuing year under the third section of this Act; and when and so soon as the amount of the said profits in any one year shall amount to the sum of 500*l.* or upwards, then and in every such case the payment of the said sum of 500*l.*, or of any portion thereof under the said section, may altogether cease.

8. *Trustees may make regulations.*—It shall be lawful for the trustees of each school, with the approval of the governor in council, to make regulations for filling up all vacancies that may occur in their number for the unexpired portion of the current term of three years, such newly-appointed trustees to retire with the other trustees, and for determining the fees that shall be payable by the pupils to the masters and teachers of the said schools, and for residence and attendance at school of the pupils, and generally concerning the management, good government, and discipline of the said schools, and from time to time, with the like approval, to repeal or to alter and amend any or all of such regulations: Provided always that if any person shall have given or subscribed a sum exceeding 30*l.*, a remission of the school fees of half the amount otherwise payable to the school shall be made in his favour until the amount exceeding 30*l.* shall be by these means repaid; and that all such regulations, and any repeal, alteration, or amendment of such regulations, shall be published in the *Government Gazette.*

9. *Short title.*—This Act shall be styled and may be cited as "The Grammar Schools Act, 1860."

APPENDIX H. Page 371.

Specimens of the Language spoken by the Aborigines of Moreton Bay.

The following is a specimen of the Moreton Bay dialect of the aboriginal language:—

Biro (term of address), sir.
Malar, man.
Byng, father.
Butang, mother.
Awang, brother.
Tading, sister.
Dalo, or *goyum*, fire.
Darkanbean, cane.
Mooyum, paper, book.
Dourour, net.
Dingal, fat.
Waiaroo, hungry.
Nangka, hot.
Danton, cold.
Marumba, good.
Bagooroo, stick, tree.
Magul, head.
Kapui, hair.
Mulroo, nose.
Pitney, ear.
Mill, eye.
Durdur, neck.
Doogai, tail.
Sidney, foot.
Deea, teeth, or edge.
Ammoo, breast, milk.
Yamma, arm.
Marra, hand.
Dabil, water.
Dar, earth.
Yarun, hunting-ground.
Mogara, thunder.
Turumturum, rain.
Umpie, house.

Gondol, bark, and boat (because made of bark).
Gargar, gum-tree.
Danduru, iron-bark.
Boona, blood-wood.
Boruda, forest-oak.
Dabilbello, box-tree.
Binempta, blood-gum.
Gambarto, fir-tree.
Greeba, ebb-tide.
Younggurba, flood-tide.
Dunkay, east wind.
Borru, west wind.
Andeikal, mullet.
Böygun, whiting.
Woulan, bream.
Dagan, cat-fish.
Dabil ban, salt water.
Nokum, vessel.
Dabira, shield.
Billar, spear.
Warlee, bad.
Koola, displeased, angry.
Ban, Dirty, nasty, very angry.
Ganar, one.
Burla, two.
Burla ganar, three.
Burla burla, four.
Korumba, more than four, much, great.
Atta, I.
Inta, thou.
Ariba, belonging to me.
Enuba, belonging to thee.

Meniänti? why?
Menäh? what?
Menango? what is the matter?
Yawoi, yes.
Yagar, no.
Virenna, arrive.
Balkali, come.
Dalto, eat.
Barter, bite.
Bogan, sleep.
Woora, put down, lie down.
Bogué, swim.
Bouwaia, dive.
Mill-mill, see, look—literally, eye-eye.
Pitney, hear, understand.
Yarto, go.
Kindänné, laugh.
Burrima, quickly, hasty.
Gandanti, slow.
Garba, another.
Garwaliko (q. good while ago), yesterday, or time past—probably English.
Mullago, or *Unungabo*, to-morrow.
Wooppa, white.
Gorun, black.
Kibbom, moon.
Beeké, sun.
Boguru, string.
Wolumgan, shell.
Kuttee, to black themselves with grease and charcoal.
Wunna? where?

SENTENCES.—*Intangan?* What is your name? *Wunna yarun malar?* Where are the blacks of the district? *Inta wunna yanmana?* Where do you go to?—Answer: *Woulanco, darco, dabilco;*—to catch fish, to work the ground, to fetch water. (The affixed syllable *co* having the effect of changing the noun to which it is joined into something like an active verb, of which that noun expresses the action.) *Andeikal inta manan?* Have you fish?—Answer: *Andeikal yagar, woulan yagar; dabil waiaroo.* There is no mullet nor bream: the water is hungry. *Menäh inta marra?* What will you work?—Answer: *Inta pitney;*—you know. *Biro, atta waiaroo, ariba "five island;"*—I am hungry: give me bread. (The first biscuit they ever saw they received from the crew of a boat belonging to the "Five Islands," from which it has received this name.)

The following are words of the language of the aborigines of Frazer's Island, Wide Bay, collected by my son during his residence in that part of the country.

Man, tan.
Woman, yirgan.
Boy, gnogoing.
Girl, woorgoo.
Father, paboing.
Mother, gnabang.
Sun, tirrome.
Moon, paboon.
Star, tirrai.
Cloud, woona.
Fire, gera.
Smoke, wolloi.
Water, kong.
Ground, tah.
Tree, to.
Stone, tuckie.
Boat, condol.
Opossum, koroi.
Bear, goolla.
Dog, watta.

Good, kalangoor.
Bad, warrang.
Large, wiyaloor.
Little, toomurrumai.
One, kalim.
Two, bulla.
Three, goorbunda.
Four, bulla-bulla.
Many, wingcor.
Yes, youai.
No, caby.
We are two good fellows—those two are not good, gnalene kalangoor—bulla warrang.
The girl has too much to say, woorgoo wingoor woolla.
The sun sets (literally, the sun goes to sleep), tirrome eenman.

APPENDIX I. Page 395.

JOURNAL OF A MISSIONARY TOUR AMONG THE ABORIGINES OF THE WESTERN INTERIOR OF QUEENSLAND, IN THE YEAR 1855, BY THE REV. WILLIAM RIDLEY.

The objects of this journey were to ascertain how far in the interior the "Turrubul" dialect, used in Brisbane, is understood by the aborigines; to learn what dialects are spoken along the Condamine; especially to find where Kamilaroi, the language of the Namoi, begins to be spoken; and, of course, to declare the glad tidings of salvation wherever it was practicable.

I left Brisbane on Saturday, 21st July 1855. The next day, after preaching to the colonists at Moggil on the Brisbane River (15 miles above this town), addressed about thirty aborigines who were encamped there, in Turrubul; they understood the address.

As most of the aborigines are quick at learning the letters (though they have no alphabet of their own), I prepare and distribute among them, whenever I visit them, small spelling books or tracts containing their own words in English characters. These tracts contain a brief statement of creation, of man's sin, of God's anger at sin, and of Christ's interposition on behalf of sinners. The name "Immanuel" is used because few aborigines can sound the letter S, while a word ending in a liquid, having indeed no consonants but liquids, is quite in accordance with the smooth sound of their usual speech; and because "Immanuel" is a word which I can literally translate into the aboriginal language, as I could not at present do with the names of "Jesus" and "Christ" ("ngeane-kunda-Baiame" in Kamilaroi means "with us God".) I prepared and distributed at Moggil six tracts in Turrubul.

On the road to Warwick, on the 26th, I met an aboriginal native of the

Hunter River district who had been to Scotland. He speaks both English and Gaelic with great accuracy and fluency, and can read and write the former; but he said he had forgotten his mother-tongue.

The few blacks I met at Warwick and Canning Downs understood the Brisbane dialect, and have the same family names as those on the coast of Moreton Bay. There are generally as many as forty about that quarter, the head of the Condamine; but I could not fall in with more than eight.

From Killarney, a flourishing wheat farm on the head of the Condamine, I followed the course of that river for 450 miles, going almost in a semi-circle, north, then west, then south.

On the Darling Downs, through which the Condamine flows for 100 miles, I saw very few aborigines, and most of those few spoke dialects with which I was unacquainted. But on Western Creek, the head of the Weir, which rises within 12 miles of the Condamine, I found some who spoke Kamilaroi, and bore the family names used on the Namoi, 200 miles to the southward.

The family or clan names at Moreton Bay are "Bandur, Bundar, Barang, and Derwain," with the corresponding feminine names "Bandurun, Bundarun, Barangun, and Derwainguń." Every aboriginal native of Moreton Bay bears one of these names; all brothers have the same, and all sisters have a name corresponding to their brothers; the sisters of Bandur being all Bandurun, and so on.

The names of the Kamilaroi-speaking blacks and surrounding tribes are "Ippai, Murri, Kubbi, and Kumbo;" and the feminine names "Ippata Mata, Kapota, Buta." These names are the means of a comprehensive classification of the people, on which are based definite and unalterable rules of marriage and descent. One cannot help thinking that this classification and the laws based upon it were the invention of sagacious and comparatively civilised men among the remote forefathers of this savage race.

The blacks at Western Creek were shy, and at first pretended not to understand the dialect in which I spoke to them; but a word of Kamilaroi, which I used, having offended the chief man among them, he answered me angrily in the same language, and this gave me the information I was seeking. Though they could speak Kamilaroi their proper language is Pikumbul (Peekumble), a dialect in which some few words are the same as in that of Brisbane, and some the same as in Kamilaroi.

At Warrawarra, 100 miles northward from Warwick, I met, in a party of ten aboriginals, three who had been on the Namoi, and who conversed with me in the language used there. At several stations along the Condamine I met aborigines who had a few words in common with the language I had previously learnt on the Namoi; but I found very few who understood that language until I came to Surat, 300 miles down the river from Warwick.

At Surat and Yambukal, a mile lower down, I found twenty-five aborigines who understood my Kamilaroi, and after a time became attentive and communicative. Two young black fellows began in earnest to learn to read the tracts which I had prepared and illustrated with paintings for them. As they had been taught by the stockmen to distinguish the brands of cattle, they were the more ready at learning the letters. And when, after a few mistakes, they found themselves able to distinguish correctly one letter from another, it was pleasing to observe the glow of satisfaction expressed in their countenances.

August 20th.—Left Surat, accompanied by two black policemen, whom Lieutenant Fulford kindly sent to attend me down the river, there being 70 miles without any inhabited station, where it is not considered safe to travel unprotected. We arrived early that day at Wirabun, 15 miles below Surat; where a dozen aborigines, having heard that a white man was coming who could speak their language, came up to the hut as soon as they saw me, and listened very attentively to my discourse. Among their party was a grey-headed blind man. Although the lot of a blind and aged savage might be deemed cheerless, this old man's countenance, bright with smiles, seemed as if no evil passions or melancholy ever beclouded it. Both his own kindred and the white men at the station pay kind attention to his wants; and he is easily pleased. It happened that while I was near him he called to his people to guide him to their camp; and as no one of them noticed him, I took one end of the old spear which they use in leading him, and, handing him the other end, guided him thither. The old man laughed heartily, shouted to his friends to see the white stranger leading him, and warmly thanked me with his repeated "murruba inda" (good you) for this little attention.

The next day we came a long journey to a deserted hut, Warru. As one of my guards was from the Murrumbidgee, and the other from the Dawson, I could not converse with them in any Australian dialect; but they were pretty well acquainted with English, and I spent the evening in attempting to explain to them the elements of Gospel truth. When, after speaking of the ascension of the Redeemer, I said "He will come again," one of them instantly inquired, "*When* will He come?"

Another long day's ride brought us to Bulgora. The presence of the police may have been a necessary safeguard at Warru; but their appearance very much interfered with my object at Bulgora, by striking terror into the hearts of the unoffending blacks there. It was some time before they could be persuaded that one who came attended by policemen had no hostile intentions. But the next day the men in charge of the station, who are good friends to their black neighbours, having returned home, and the police being gone, I found them much more accessible.

There were about forty aborigines there. Their native dialect is Jolaroi;

and that being very much like Kamilaroi, they understood and conversed with me in the latter.

The suffix *-aroi* in these names signifies possession, like our suffix *-ful;* and "uol" and "kamil" mean "no" in these dialects respectively. Most of the dialects of the interior with which I am at all acquainted, are named after the negative; for instance, "Wiraiaroi" is the dialect in which "wirai" is "no;" "Wailwun" (wilawun) that in which "wail" is "no." By the report of a lecture by Mr. Parker, M.L.C. of Victoria, we are informed that, in that part of Australia also, the dialects are named after the negative. In one dialect, however, "Pickumbul," spoken on the Weir, the *affirmative* "pika" (yes) gives a name to the dialect. This is just as it was in France, where "Langue d'oc" and "Langue d'oui" were the dialects in which "oc" and "oui" respectively were the affirmatives. The French have preserved the *name* of one dialect on their *map*, and the *substance* of the other in their modern speech.

Some of the aborigines I met at Bulgora speak "Kogai" or "Kogurre" (that is "Ko speech"), the language spoken on the Maranoa and over a large extent of country westward of the Condamine.

Kogai bears very little resemblance to either of the dialects with which I am acquainted; yet there are connecting points. The pronouns "ngaia, nginda" (I, thou) are the same in Kogai as in Kamilaroi; and the mode of forming the feminine of names, by adding *un* or *gun* (answering to our *ss* and *ess* in princess and authoress) is the same in Kogai as in the Brisbane language.

The river, which higher up bears the name "Condamine" (in honour of M. de la Condamine, aide-de-camp of Governor Darling) retains here the native name "Balun" (Baloon). From Surat down to Kui (100 miles) it is a fine broad stream, abounding in fish, one species of which (cod) frequently attains to 40 lbs. weight.

The pasture about it is luxuriant; some of the trees large and shady; and numerous birds of brilliant plumage, some with melody of song, contribute to the gratification of the traveller.

Below Kui the channel of the river is diminished, and 120 miles below Surat it divides, the Culgoa leading off to the south-west, and not far down the other branch again divides into three, the Narran, Bokhara, and Balandoon; and the four channels, except in flood time, convey no stream to the Barwan, to whose deeper bed they lead. The Narran, the principal of the four, is lost in a swamp.

On the 26th August I crossed the Culgoa, and went about ten miles below it to the lowest station on the Balun, Karawildai. Between Bulgora and Karawildai, that is, in 50 miles, I met with about 100 aborigines. Large assemblies of them are frequently seen on this river; but I did not fall in with more than forty together. Most of those I met understood Kamilaroi; a few who had come in lately from the westward knew only

Kogai: one who spoke both these languages gave me a list of Kogai words.

No minister of the Gospel had ever before visited the colonists scattered along the last 200 miles of this river, which has now been occupied nine years.

It is true there are but four or five families, and perhaps not more than sixty white people altogether, along that line of 200 miles, and no one seems settled there for life; though some have found that when they went down the Condamine it was to spend there the remainder of life. But surely some effort should be made by those who enjoy the privilege of regular religious instructions and ordinances to secure the occasional sounding of the Gospel trumpet to the scattered population of fellow-colonists *all along* the western boundary of our colony. There is a very large extent of country which squatting enterprise has for years occupied, but to which Christian zeal has not yet sent out messengers of the glad tidings.

I must say that I was received at every station on the Balun with kind hospitality, and heard with respectful attention.

On this river the effect upon the aborigines of the occupation by Europeans of the country was forcibly presented. Before the occupation of this district by colonists, the aborigines could never have been at a loss for the necessaries of life. Except in the lowest part of the river, there is water in the driest seasons; along the banks game abounded; waterfowl, emus, parrot tribes, kangaroos, and other animals might always, or almost always, be found. And if, at any time, these failed to supply food for the human tribe, the fish furnished a sure resource. But when the country was taken up, and herds of cattle introduced, not only did the cattle drive away the kangaroos, but those who had charge of the cattle found it necessary to keep the aborigines away from the river, as their appearance frightened the cattle in all directions. In fact, it is said that while troops of aborigines roam about the runs, and especially if they go to the cattle camps and watering places, it is impossible to keep a herd together.

After some fatal conflicts, in which some colonists and many aborigines have been slain, the blacks have been awed into submission to the orders which forbid their access to the river. And what is the consequence? Black fellows coming in from the west report that last summer very large numbers, afraid to visit the river, were crowded round a few scanty water-holes, within a day's walk of which it was impossible to get sufficient food; that during the hottest weather the great red ants in that dry locality were so formidable that neither men nor even opossums could rest night or day except for an hour or so at noon; that owing to these combined hardships many died. This is only black fellows' report; but when we *know* that people have been cut off from four-fifths of their usual supply of food, and reduced to a scanty supply of bad water, is it an *incredible* report that sickness and death have fallen upon them?

As might be expected, partly from the pressure of real want, and partly, it may be, out of anger at the interference of the white man with their prosperity, they skulk about spearing cattle.

How can such a sad state of things be prevented? The squatter has a licence from the crown to occupy the country with his cattle; and unless his cattle are secure from the visits of blacks they will not stay on the run. He argues thus: "The licence entitles me to make sure of the benefit to be derived from depasturing the run; and the run is useless while blacks roam over it; so that the licence, if worth anything, includes the right to order them away." The question then arises, whether it is not the duty of the government, *on assuming the ownership of the land*, by *granting licences to occupy it*, to see that the human beings who have been wont to get their living off the land thus taken up, have at least a supply of food provided for them equal to that of which they are deprived by the introduction of the licence-holder?

To those blacks who volunteer to become servants to the occupiers of the stations, liberal supplies of food and clothes are generally given. But where they are as numerous as they are on the Balun, it is impossible for more than a small proportion of them to be so employed; and whether they become servants to the colonists or not, surely the tribes who are deprived of their chief means of subsistence have a right to some compensation from the government which takes to itself the responsibility of owning the land, and lets it to others for purposes inconsistent with their accustomed free occupation of it.

August 31st.—I left the Balun, and came over a dry country (30 miles) to the Mooni creek, at a spot called Indu gully. Thence proceeded down the creek to the Barwan River, and nearly 100 miles down the Barwan to the junction of the Namoi. Between the point at which I reached the Mooni, and the junction of the Namoi, I visited eighteen stations, at all of which I found a few resident blacks, at several as many as eight or twelve. All these speak "Kamilaroi" as their native tongue, and consequently understood me more readily than the Uolaroi tribes on the Balun.

One poor fellow on the Mooni addressed me in a long and pathetic harangue on the wrongs which his people have suffered at the hands of the white men, and urged upon me, as I had been telling the black fellows not to do evil, to go round and tell the white men not to wrong the blacks, especially not to take away their gins.

When I came near the junction of the Mooni with the River Barwan, at a station called Gundabului, I met two or three other blacks who had seen and heard me on the Barwan in May, 1854. They remembered me, though I did not recognise them; and having heard of my coming a few hours before I arrived, they asked the squatter—who had brought them on horseback to aid him in a muster of cattle, and who was sending out to a distance to watch a herd—to allow them to stay and hear me; they after-

wards brought eight or nine others with them into the room where I was, that they might all hear me speak in Kamilaroi. And in their own tongue I delivered to them this "faithful saying, worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners."

After travelling 700 miles on ground quite new to me, and having to struggle with the shyness of aborigines to whom I was a stranger, this recognition and willing audience gave me much pleasure. And in my way down the Barwan I found at every station the advantage of old acquaintance.

The Kamilaroi spelling books with pictures of kangaroos, &c., which I distributed, were apparently much prized, more than one of these blacks being already well acquainted with the English alphabet.

At Burndtha, on the Barwan, I met a company of forty blacks engaged in a ceremony in which amusement was combined with some mystical purpose. A chorus of twenty, old and young, were singing and beating time with boomerangs. Though the words and notes of their song are few, six or eight words with three or four variations of the same number of notes, being repeated for hours, they observe very correct time and harmony. There were a dozen more looking on. Suddenly, from under a sheet of bark darted a man with his body whitened by pipeclay, his head and face coloured with lines of red and yellow, and a tuft of feathers fixed by means of a stick two feet above the crown of his head. He stood twenty minutes perfectly still, gazing upwards. An aboriginal who stood by told me he was looking for the ghosts of dead men. At last he began to move very slowly, and soon rushed to and fro at full speed, flourishing a branch as if to drive away some foes invisible to us.

When I thought his pantomime must be almost over, ten more, similarly adorned, suddenly appeared from behind the trees, and the whole party joined in a brisk conflict with their mysterious assailants. The music waxed louder as, now and then, the actors came stamping up to the choir; and at last, after some rapid evolutions in which they put forth all their strength, they rested from the exciting toil which they had kept up all night and for some hours after sunrise: they seemed satisfied that the ghosts were driven away for twelve months. They were performing the same ceremony at every station along the river; and I am told it is an annual custom.

When their excitement had somewhat subsided, I went round to the several groups, to tell them of the only True Deliverer from evil demons, and from "sin, the source of mortal woe."

September 14th.—Left the Barwan, and came up Telaba Creek to Oreel; thence by Paian Creek to the Namoi River at Buckelbone. The remainder of the month I spent on the Namoi, where I had many favourable opportunities of addressing both colonists and aborigines on the all-important topic of salvation.

Though the number of aborigines is very much reduced since the occupation of this district by colonists sixteen years ago, there are still a few at almost every station; and as there are two or three stations within every ten miles, the aggregate, along 200 miles of the river, is considerable.

The Namoi blacks are useful and even indispensable members of society: without their services in stockkeeping and shepherding, and especially at sheepshearing time, the business of this district could hardly be carried on.

In my way up the Namoi, I met a black fellow from the Barwan, who had several times heard me speak of religion, who, as I was passing, followed me out of hearing of his companions, and then told me that a white man on the Barwan had taken away his wife. He asked me to write and threaten the offender that I would send the constables after him if he did not restore her, and added, as if this seemed to him the most powerful argument, "You tell him the great Master in heaven is very angry with him about it."

October 1st.—Went from the Namoi up one of its tributaries, the Mukkai. The few blacks who are left in this locality speak Uolaroi and Kamilaroi like those on the Balun.

From the plains at the head of the Mukkai, I went over the great dividing range to Murrurundi. This is the first name occurring in this journal since Warwick that indicates anything more than a single station. The aborigines have given names to every turn of the rivers, every hillock and gully; so that wherever a house is built the spot is found to have some distinct name.

In church at Murrurundi, on the Sabbath, I observed an aboriginal who regularly attends on the ministry of the Rev. A. Black, and has attained to some understanding of Christian doctrine. This man's native tongue is Kamilaroi, and he furnished me with a very important and satisfactory confirmation of a phrase I had employed. One of the most important problems I had to solve in conveying the elements of truth to the aborigines was how to describe *sin*. After much thought I adopted for this purpose these words: "Ngeane kanungo warawara yanani, ngeane kanungo kagil gingi" (literally, We all crooked have gone, we all bad are become.) When I repeated these words to the aboriginal at Murrurundi, and asked him to tell my friend what they meant in English, he replied at once, "We all have *sinned*."

From Murrurundi I returned northward to the Peel River, and followed that river to the Namoi. Leaving the Namoi at Gulligal, I proceeded over a mountain range northward to Lindsay, on the head of the Gwydir, where I arrived on the 19th October.

F. T. Rusden, Esq., of Lindsay, has twenty aborigines regularly employed on his run, some of them engaged by written agreements. He spoke in high terms of their trustworthiness and usefulness. Mr. Rusden showed me one of my printed Kamilaroi tracts, which he had read to the blacks,

and interlined with notes of variations in dialect. He said the aborigines understood the scripture narratives and listened with interest to them.

Some years ago a man in Mr. Rusden's service, having lost his way in the bush, was found by blacks, half dead with hunger and fatigue; and when they had fed and nursed him till he was strong again, they brought him to his master.

I came down the Gwydir to the Bundarra, and over that river to Warialda. The aborigines I found at Warialda, twelve in number, speak Kamilaroi as well as Uolaroi; but they were the last I met who spoke to me in the former language. A day's journey northward from Warialda, I found blacks speaking Yukumba; and on the Macintyre, 70 miles from Warialda, Pikumbul is the prevailing language.

On the 27th I reached Calandoon, on the Macintyre, the upper part of the Barwan. A fortnight before 360 blacks had been assembled here, chiefly natives of Balun and Mooni. They had gone away westward again, and though I followed them 30 miles, I could not come up with them. I spoke with about forty who are constant inhabitants of Calandoon. They could understand a good deal of my Kamilaroi (as they proved by translating it into English), but I could not understand their Pikumbul.

The Pikumbul blacks were, for some years, the most determined and troublesome foes the colonists have met in this country; and though now on friendly terms with the white people, and useful in the business of the stations, they are more ferocious in their fights one with another than most of the aborigines—stabbing and maiming, and even fatal wounds, are frequent results of their quarrels. The features of these blacks are sharper, their expression more cunning, and their bodies more slender than others.

On Sabbath (28th), while I was preaching to the owners of the station and their men, the blacks assembled in the verandah to hear, and, having seen their "masters" listening to me, were afterwards much more attentive when I tried to make them understand, in Kamilaroi, the import of my message.

Thence I came up the Weir, a tributary of the Macintyre; at four stations thereon, I met with forty blacks; all speak Pikumbul, and know something of Kamilaroi.

From the head of the Weir, I again crossed the Downs by Yandilla, where I found nearly a dozen blacks who speak Paiamba, a dialect containing a few words like those of the Brisbane tribes, but which was for the most part quite strange to me.

After leaving Yandilla, I met but very few aborigines on the way by Drayton and Ipswich to Brisbane, which I reached on the 13th November. Thanks and praises be to Him whose goodness and mercy have followed me throughout this long journey!

Since leaving Brisbane, 21st July, I have travelled in all 1850 miles; and for 1000 miles of that distance I was among aborigines who understand

Kamilaroi, which is also the language of the Hunter River blacks for 70 or 80 miles below Murrurundi, and is (I am told) spoken at several places between the junction of the Namoi (where I turned eastward) and the Murrumbidgee, 300 miles south.

Between Surat on the Balun, and Walzett on the Barwan, a little more than 200 miles, a missionary would (I believe) meet in the course of a few months about a thousand aborigines, and would, besides, have an opportunity of preaching the Gospel to seventy or eighty colonists, who are beyond the labours of settled ministers, so that he would occupy an important field of labour. Beginning with Kamilaroi, which is spoken all along that line, he might soon acquire from some of the Balun blacks the Kogai dialect, spoken by many hundreds to the westward of the Balun. Again, along the course of the Namoi, in 250 miles one would find over a hundred aborigines, all speaking Kamilaroi, engaged in the service of the colonists, and more accessible to instruction than those further west. A missionary on this line would also be able to preach to nearly 200 colonists. Also at Calandoon, on the Macintyre, and for 60 miles along that river, and 80 miles up the Weir, some hundreds of Pikumbul-speaking blacks may be met with; and in that district a missionary would be welcomed as a preacher of the Gospel by many colonists. So that if men suited to the work, and the necessary resources, were forthcoming, there are three positions which present themselves as favourable for missionary enterprise.

Throughout the whole of my journey I have received, as a traveller, kind hospitality, and, as a minister, courteous attention. Even those colonists who doubt the possibility of doing any good to the aborigines, express a desire for frequent visits of ministers to themselves and their countrymen. It gave me great pleasure to meet on the Downs a missionary sent out by the Colonial Church and School Society, whose evangelic labours among a widely scattered people will, I trust, prove abundantly effective.

On comparing the field for missionary labour to which this report refers, namely, the country west of the dividing range, with the coast, it is to be observed that the aborigines are in much larger numbers along the coast; but their languages are spoken over a very much less extent than those of the interior. The coast blacks also are generally more ferocious than those of the interior. A missionary can itinerate with much more safety, and find more ready access to the aborigines in the interior; but if once a stationary mission could be established near the coast, it would, on account of the numbers located within a comparatively short distance, be a more favourable position than a station in the interior.

Note on the Traditions of the Aborigines.

Wherever I have conversed with the aborigines, I find they have definite traditions concerning supernatural beings. On the Barwan and Namoi

they say there is one Being who made all things, whom they never saw, though they hear His voice in thunder. They speak of Him by the name "Baiame;" and those who have learnt that "God" is the name by which we speak of the Creator, say that "Baiame is God."

Some of them say that Baiame formerly appeared to their fathers; and a white man assured me that the blacks had told him of laws given by Baiame to their forefathers. But I never heard them speak of Baiame as a ruler, nor ascribe wisdom and goodness to Him.

They also believe in the existence of many demons, of whom Turramullun is the chief. They say that Turramullun is the author of disease and of medical skill, of mischief and of wisdom also; that he appears in the form of a serpent at their great assemblies.

It is remarkable that they have everywhere applied to white men the word originally meaning "ghost" or supernatural being. At Moreton Bay "makoron" is ghost, demon, or white fellow; a little way from here "magui" bears these meanings; and on the Barwan and Namoi "wunda" stands for the same.

There is in all parts of the country a traditional system of initiation into the rank of manhood. Young men are not allowed to eat certain food, nor exercise other privileges, until they have passed through a series of boras. The bora is a great assembly, from which women and foreigners are excluded. From the aversion the aborigines have to the intrusion of white men, it is difficult to know all that passes there. In some parts of the country the candidates for initiation have a front tooth knocked out. While attending a series of boras, three being usually required, the young men are bound to fasting and silence. Even aborigines who have been accustomed to associate with white men, and earning wages by regular service, retain a strong attachment to this hereditary custom, and when a bora is to be held in which their tribe is concerned, nothing can restrain them from attending it; nor dare youths who have until they arrived at the age of manhood been under the chosen direction of white men, neglect the mysterious rites through which their fathers passed.

THE END.

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